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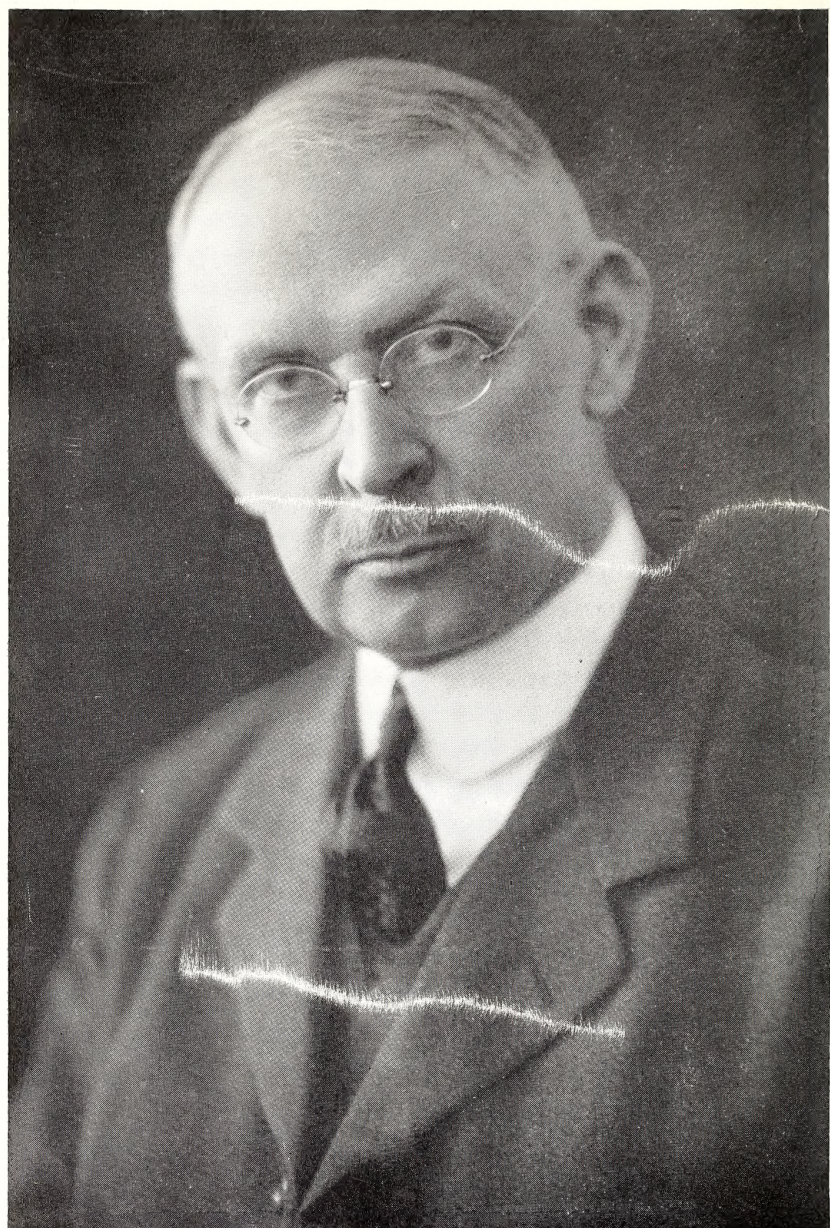
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Bishop Cannon's Own Story





James Cunningham

Bishop Cannon's **OWN STORY**

LIFE AS I HAVE SEEN IT

By James Cannon, Jr.

EDITED BY RICHARD L. WATSON, JR.



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Editor's Introduction

I

AS A YOUTH I not only had no desire to be a Methodist preacher, but I was determined that I would not be. I wanted to be a lawyer and my youthful ambition was to be one of those who have recently been called "The Nine Old Men." ¹

So wrote Bishop James Cannon, Jr., in the year 1938 on the eve of his retirement after twenty years as Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. He had also served fifty-six years as a "local and itinerant preacher" and rarely missed preaching two or three times on Sunday. He attended many of the annual Conferences of his Church and all the General Conferences, not to mention those of the Northern Methodists. He participated in annual international, denominational, and interdenominational conventions in Europe. He traveled for various causes. One of his three trips to the Belgian Congo put him on crutches for most of the rest of his life, but that, if anything, seemed to stimulate him to an even greater activity.

A glance at the record would seem to argue that Cannon's religious conversion had changed his interests from public affairs to those of the spirit. In fact, however, Cannon never lost his interest in public affairs, and rare is the churchman who could match his participation in them. Cannon separated in his orderly and logical mind church and episcopal activities from those connected with "public life and social reform." He tried to make quite clear, for example, when he was wearing the hat of chairman of the Social Service Commission of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, and when that of the chairman of the National Legislative Committee of the Anti-Saloon League. It can be seen that exchanging one of these hats for another might prove confusing to an uninformed observer, particularly when on occasion he appeared at a function carrying both hats in hand. For example, he attended all national conventions of the two major political parties from 1920 to 1932 in both capacities.

Cannon's activities were of a bewildering variety. At the same time

1. Draft letter, Cannon to "Fathers and Brothers" [1938], Cannon MSS.

that he was either preacher or bishop, he was also college president, editor, businessman, Anti-Saloon Leaguer, and organizer of the Anti-Al Smith Democrats in the Southern states in 1928. Controversy buzzed about him until he became one of the most controversial figures in the late twenties. Few would deny "his great ability and almost incredible energy." But some "damned him as a wily, unscrupulous politician who used his ecclesiastical status as a mere cloak for chicanery," while others "praised him as a man of God who could defeat the forces of evil on their own ground."²

The story of the first thirty years of Cannon's career is one relatively easy to tell. He was born in comfortable circumstances in 1864 at Salisbury, Maryland, where he also attended public school. He entered Randolph-Macon College at Ashland, Virginia, in 1881 and received the B.A. degree four years later. Shortly after his arrival on campus, he met his future wife, Lura Virginia Bennett, daughter of the president of Randolph-Macon. He concentrated upon making an excellent academic record with the objective of a career in law, but during a series of revival meetings in the winter of 1882 he decided to enter the ministry. Although immediately licensed to preach by the Quarterly Conference of the Ashland Methodist Episcopal Church, South, he decided to further his career by attending Princeton Theological Seminary and the Graduate School of the College of New Jersey (Princeton University). He received the B.D. in 1888 and the M.A. a year later.

"The Virginia Annual Conference met at Berkeley Station, just across the river from Norfolk" in November, 1888. Cannon was "admitted on trial" and had let it be known that he hoped for "a charge" in the hill country, and thus he welcomed his assignment to ride the circuit in Charlotte County. In August he had married Lura Virginia Bennett, and the young couple spent a busy but happy year at their first charge, one with "four church buildings and six preaching appointments," a salary of five hundred dollars, and forty-five dollars for traveling expenses. Although the Cannons were disappointed at being transferred, their next assignment, the shipbuilding center of Newport News, proved a challenging one. He remained there for two years; then, following the Virginia Conference of 1891, he was assigned to Farmville, in "the heart of Southside Virginia," where he and his family spent three "truly delightful" years. There, in addition to his pastoral duties, he became editor of a monthly newspaper, the *Farmville District Method-*

2. *Catholic Virginian*, Sept., 1944. An editorial written by Father William Winston, a Roman Catholic who had several times defended Cannon in this magazine.

ist, the first of several newspapers which, as he said, were to prove his "right arm of power."

Toward the end of his third year at Farmville, Cannon was offered a position as principal of a training school for girls under the auspices of the Methodist Church at Blackstone, Virginia. It was hardly an inviting offer, since the school had no faculty, no students, no equipment, and no money. It had six acres of land, a partly completed brick building, and a bonded debt of eighty thousand dollars. However, Cannon accepted the offer, requested release from his charge at Farmville, and started out on a new career.

The purpose of Blackstone Female Institute, according to its motto, was to provide "Thorough Instruction under Positive Christian Influences at Lowest Possible Cost." This slogan reflected Cannon's conviction that state schools and most private schools had in common the fundamental weakness that they devoted themselves to the cultivation of the body and the intellect but gave "no place to culture of the soul." They trained "for earth," whereas the denominational school had the distinctive responsibility to train "for earth and heaven." The faculty was chosen with this objective in view, as was the library, whose books were subjected to careful scrutiny before being placed on the library shelves.³

To achieve the objective of the school, Cannon was compelled to expend his credit and his energy. He acted not only as principal and treasurer, but also as teacher. He built the school up in enrollment, in faculty, and in plant, and he participated actively in community affairs. At the same time he was establishing himself as a power in the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. He participated actively in General, Annual, and District Conferences of his Church, joined in organizing the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, and "attended every meeting of the Federal Council since that time." In 1904 he became the editor of the *Baltimore and Richmond Christian Advocate*, an obligation which required commuting between classes and family at Blackstone and the weekly editions at Richmond. At the same time he became prominently connected with various "causes" in the state of Virginia, the most important of which was that of prohibition. In family background and conviction a prohibitionist, he was early associated with the Anti-Saloon League of America. In 1901 he participated in the organization of the Virginia Anti-Saloon League and was from the beginning chairman of the Headquarters Committee, chairman of the Legislative Committee,

3. See catalogues of Blackstone Female Institute, for example, 1900-1901, pp. 13 ff.

and active on the Executive Committee. In 1909 he became acting superintendent, and a year later superintendent.⁴

As the prohibition controversy became more and more embittered, Cannon felt the need for a medium of communication that would reach more people. He was already making use of the editorial columns of the *Baltimore and Richmond Christian Advocate* to answer "misrepresentations." What was necessary in addition, he thought, was "a daily dry newspaper in Richmond." Thus he once more invested his energies and credit in a new project, the *Richmond Virginian*, the first issue of which appeared in January, 1910. For at least three years he found himself with three offices and three major responsibilities in Richmond: the *Advocate*, the *Virginian*, and the Anti-Saloon League.

Although he remained closely connected with the *Virginian* throughout its nine-year life, he officially resigned from the presidency and board of directors in 1912. By this time the prohibition issue was so important and he had made himself so decisive a force in it that he wielded considerable political influence, particularly in Virginia. In fact, although not a member of the state legislature, few could rival his influence on that body.

He continued at Blackstone until 1911, but then resigned to accept an invitation to become General Superintendent of the Southern Assembly of his church, planned for the vicinity of Waynesville, North Carolina. This project, which was designed to be a kind of Chautauqua for Southern Methodism, could not have looked any more attractive than had the earlier Blackstone venture. He was not being invited to manage a solvent organization in being, but to raise funds, clear land, build buildings and a large dam, and generate enthusiasm for a new project. Here the available assets were perhaps somewhat greater than had been the case at Blackstone, but the pledges of \$100,000 for initiating the project proved to be about 40 per cent too optimistic, and much of the initial enthusiasm for the project soon wore off. However, Cannon moved to Waynesville and again invested his credit and a carefully calculated percentage of his energy in the project for the next three years. He had no little trouble in getting it started: various individuals went back on their subscriptions; there were unforeseen complications regarding roads and sewerage; and local banks were not particularly generous with credit.⁵

In 1914 Cannon withdrew from his active superintendentship. By

4. Resolution of appreciation to Cannon by the Anti-Saloon League of Virginia, Aug. 30, 1918, Cannon MSS.

5. Cannon to B. J. Sloan, April 17, 1915, Cannon MSS.

that time the Assembly, known as Junaluska, was established, and the dam, shoreline drive, auditorium, Public Service building, and utilities were completed. Although he turned the active managing over to the Executive Committee of the Board of Commissioners, he retained responsibility for the finances, which involved consolidating the debt, selling lots, and placing "enough stock to reduce the indebtedness . . . to a reasonable sum." He continued officially as superintendent until 1919.

Meanwhile his responsibilities in the prohibition movement were demanding increasing attention. The state-wide campaign for prohibition in Virginia was reaching a climax, and Cannon devoted much of his time to gaining political support for this objective. Probably more than any other individual, in fact, he was responsible for converting the Virginia political machine of Martin and Swanson and Byrd, certainly wet in inclination, to an organization apparently enthusiastic for the dry cause. By gradual steps, a process of taking what he could get, Cannon led Virginia along the road until it reached complete prohibition in 1916. At the same time his responsibilities increased on a national scale when he assumed the chairmanship of the National Legislative Committee of the Anti-Saloon League of America. This position alone, testified Cannon, was "of such importance that it would take all my time could I afford to give it for that purpose."⁶

Cannon could not "afford to give it for that purpose" because in 1914 he decided to return to Blackstone. The Female Institute had come a long way in plant and staff since its founding some twenty years before, and within a year another landmark was reached when, at the commencement exercises of 1915, it was announced that Blackstone would add two years to its schedule and become a junior college. Cannon was happy at Blackstone. In fact, he was probably happier in his educational work than in any of his other activities. Within the boundaries of the school he seems to have abandoned what many considered a repelling coldness, and he succeeded in winning the affection and loyal support of the great majority of his students and staff.⁷

The General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, held at Atlanta in 1918, ended what Cannon called those "happy Blackstone years." It elected him bishop. Although this was not entirely unexpected, Cannon pondered long and earnestly before deciding to accept a call away from the work of his choice. As he himself put it:

There were so many reasons against acceptance. First, I had been a mem-

6. *Ibid.*

7. See, for example, appreciation written apparently in 1936 by Mrs. Sallie Blackwell Jones, Cannon MSS.

ber of the Virginia Conference for thirty years. I greatly loved the Conference and its regular activities. I had never been absent from a single session of the body since I joined it. I had rarely ever been absent as much as an hour at a time. I had taken my seat at the opening hour of the Conference and held it until the appointments were read. I knew everything that had been done by the Conference during thirty years. I knew every member of the Conference and the probable attitude of every member on questions that might come before the body. I loved the Conference and thought of it as one of the greatest religious bodies on earth, and it was difficult to bring myself to agree to accept any position which would prevent my active participation in the work of the men and the congregations of that body.

Perhaps no man in the history of that great Conference had been blessed with more true and loyal friends, who in very strenuous times had cooperated with me to secure desired results. While because of natural self-control I was thought by many to be lacking in feeling, there were few men in the body who had deeper emotions or stronger affections. To separate myself from the people with whom I had worked, from youth to mature manhood, was a terrific wrench indeed, and many times after the decision was made, like David who longed for the water of the Well of Bethlehem, I longed to have the right to sit once more among the elders of the Virginia Conference, and to claim its every interest as my own.

Second, I had been a member of the General Conference for five sessions. Since the Conference of 1886 at Richmond I had made a study of the men and of the measures before each General Conference. From the very first, circumstances had made me an active participant in General Conference proceedings, and my experience in the greatest Annual Conference of Methodism had given me training for the larger body. I considered the business of the Church of God to be the greatest business on earth, and I thought of the General Conference as that body of my Church which had the responsibility of determining the great policies and programs of the Church and of selecting the methods and the men to carry out those programs and policies. I counted it as an obligation laid upon me by the Virginia Conference to properly represent the views of that body. As was my custom in my own Conference, I was always in my seat from the beginning to the close of the General Conference, and knew what the body had done and what it had not done.

I did not want to be removed from the floor of the General Conference to the platform, where I would be unable to take any part in a discussion concerning some great interest of the Church; and at every General Conference since my election to the episcopacy I have longed, at some time or other, to be able to get off the platform and go down on the floor and take part in the debate.

Third, I did not want to give up my editorial work. For twenty-five full years I had been an editor, always of a paper which I owned, controlled, and edited subject to the approval or disapproval of the Conference from which it

had patronage. I had learned that my editorial independence was my right arm of power. The right to write, to print, to scatter abroad my uncensored views on any matter enabled me to win many victories for the causes which I championed. Next to preaching and teaching I placed this editorial work, and it was with something akin to dismay that I realized that my acceptance of an election as bishop meant the discontinuance of my editorial work and would make me dependent upon other editors for the right to express my views.

Fourth, the superintendency of the Anti-Saloon League of Virginia and of the Southern Assembly both carried with them heavy responsibilities, and it would be necessary to resign from both positions. But they were both activities which could be transferred, in part at least, to others, it being easily possible to retain an advisory relationship in each case.

Fifth, but the real battle centered around Blackstone. Having given up my work there once, and having realized what a tremendous gap then came into my life, I had returned with joy and with a feeling that my greatest work had been done in training young life at Blackstone, and that the same work was the greatest that I could do for the remaining years of my life. The four years of my second administration had strengthened that conviction. If the question had been: "Give up your other activities, but hold on to the bishopric and Blackstone," it would not have been so difficult to reach a decision. There were examples of bishops who had also been college presidents. Bishop McTyeire was president of Vanderbilt, Bishop McMurry was president of Central College. But with me success at Blackstone involved an amount of personal contacts with the students which I did not think I could maintain and perform the service to which the Church was entitled from a bishop. Looking back now after eighteen years in the episcopacy, I state frankly that I failed to press home for answers to two questions, first, "For which work are you better fitted, and where will you obtain greater results, at Blackstone or as a bishop?" Second, "Which is it more difficult to secure, another man to carry on the work at Blackstone as you want it to be done?" [*sic*].

These were the really vital questions, and had I known then everything that I know today, I do not hesitate to say that I would never have accepted the episcopacy but would have remained at Blackstone. Blackstone was my own child. I and my wife had put our very heart's blood into the building up of an institution which was recognized as turning out a distinctive product. It was not to be expected that any others would or could make the ideas, purposes, and ideals of the founders their own. These had been wrought out, strengthened, and thoroughly assimilated as a result of years of personal, heart-searching experiences. Every man must of necessity develop his own program by experiences. He cannot take it readymade. I fully recognize that if I desired that Blackstone should continue to turn out the kind of product I desired, the only certain way to secure that was to remain in charge of the school.

But it was not alone the effect which my resignation might have upon my plans and hopes for the school which gave me pause. It was the realization that once again I would be cutting myself off from the kind of work for which I believed that I had some fitness and in which I took great delight. I actually shivered as I thought of some of the lonely times I had experienced in the four years' absence from Blackstone. What could the episcopacy hold that would offer an adequate recompense? If I had allowed myself to decide the question on that basis, I would without hesitation have refused to be consecrated as bishop. I knew then, and I have realized every year since that time, that the happiness which comes from the continual personal contacts of teacher and pupil can never be found in the episcopal office.

Why, then, did I accept the bishopric and consent to leave Blackstone and to give up the other relations which I prized so highly? First, and most compelling, because I believed that the selection by the General Conference, the governing body of a great Church, of a few men to be the outstanding representatives of that Church, could not be lightly put aside, especially if one believed that earnest, sincere prayers had been offered that a right choice be made.

I knew that the General Conference as a body knew something of the activities in which I had been engaged, and the work which I had been doing. I knew that because of the positions which I had taken in various matters before the Church for twenty years past I had incurred the opposition of some good people, and the hatred of many evil ones. The whole Church, indeed the whole country, knew that I had been denounced without measure and accused of all manner of evil-doing. In view of everything that had transpired in the twenty years preceding, I was deeply impressed by the fact that I had been selected by the General Conference to be one of the General Superintendents, one of the Chief Pastors of the Church. Was the voice of the General Conference to be considered as a call from God just as was the call to the ministry thirty years before? It was exceedingly difficult to overcome the conviction that in declining to respond to the voice of the General Conference I might be refusing to answer the call of God. It was that conviction which finally decided the question in favor of acceptance of the election.

I did not object to the episcopacy because I thought that the duties of the office would be heavy. There were certain features connected with the work which appealed to me.

I had always enjoyed the meetings of deliberative bodies. The Annual Conferences are meetings of bodies of the men whom I knew and loved best, Methodist preachers and laymen. While bishops are not allowed to participate in the discussion of an Annual Conference, they do have opportunity to make their views known sufficiently to influence important actions of the conference. While the making of the appointments is a heavy and difficult responsibility, yet the study necessary to make them most effectively involves

many interesting and revealing experiences. Travel throughout the Church gives opportunity to use methods and plans in new fields which have already been used successfully elsewhere, although the problems and opportunities presented in new fields are a great stimulus to bend one's energies to meet fresh needs.

Perhaps that which tipped the scales in favor of the acceptance of the election was the missionary opportunity which episcopal work might afford. As a young man at Princeton, I had earnestly desired to become a foreign missionary, but the family health record blocked any regular appointment under the Board of Missions. As a pastor I had strongly emphasized the missionary cause. As an editor I had made missions one of the three outstanding causes advocated by my papers. I talked with Bishop Lambuth and was assured by him that it was practically certain that if I asked for it, I would be given missionary work among my assignments. I believed that as a bishop I could render a greater service to the missionary cause than in any other position in the Church. I felt that in so doing I would probably be more nearly responding to the Master's last general commission to His followers, and more nearly follow the example of Paul, the greatest man, as I believed, who ever lived.

There were certain other great causes in which I was deeply interested which I thought I might possibly promote more effectively as a bishop. I had for years been an active advocate of the unification of Methodism and had seen the report which I had championed adopted by the General Conference. It seemed likely that I would be appointed as one of the Bishops on the commission recommended by the report, and there were circumstances which made it likely that I would have more influence with the Northern Methodist Commission if I were an episcopal member of the Joint Commission.

I was also greatly interested in the cause of prohibition, state and national, and was at that time chairman of the National Legislative Committee of the Anti-Saloon League of America, and was recognized as representing the Southern states and especially my own Church in my prohibition activities at Washington. My Anti-Saloon League friends all thought that I would have even greater influence as a bishop than I had had in the past.

While the General Conference had authorized the launching of the Centenary Missionary Movement, it had also declared that following the Centenary, there would be a great church-wide educational campaign. My friends thought of me as the logical man to be chairman of such an educational campaign and believed that I could do the Church a greater service in that respect as a bishop than as connected with any one institution.

All these and other factors had to be thoroughly weighed in connection with the decision which was finally made. The fierce battle was fought out alone with continued earnest prayer for a right decision. Few, except my wife, have ever known how nearly evenly the scales were balanced.

Had the legislation now contained in paragraph 123, which provides

"that no Bishop shall remain on the effective list longer than the General Conference nearest his 72nd birthday," been in the *Discipline* or been adopted by the General Conference of 1918, there would have been no question as to the decision I would have made. I would never have agreed to accept the election with an age limit attached. I considered such an age list to be un-Methodistic as applying to no one except bishops. I regard it to be in the nature of class legislation.

I believe such legislation to be a reflection upon the courage and the brotherliness of the General Conference. If a bishop is no longer efficient, and that fact can be established, the Committee on Episcopacy should not hesitate to request such bishop to ask for his superannuation, and if he declines to do so, should recommend his superannuation. That is the brotherly and the courageous thing to do. If the General Conference believes that the Committee on Episcopacy is right, it should not hesitate to superannuate a bishop against his wishes, just as it superannuated Bishop Wilson in 1914. When men can continue as pastors, as presiding elders, as college presidents, as editors, as connexional officers, in short, in any position in the Church, except in that of the episcopacy, without regard to any age limit whatever, it is utterly illogical to retire men by the almanac who were presumably elected General Superintendents because of special ability. Their special abilities should continue to serve the Church until it is evident that they should retire. It is no more painful or embarrassing to inform a bishop that the time has come for him to retire if he does not recognize that fact himself, than it is for the bishop and his cabinet to inform traveling preachers that the time has come for them to retire.

Compulsory retirement, when a man is in full possession of his faculties, is not only illogical, but it has in it an element of positive cruelty. It is not applied to Justices of the Supreme Court or of the lower courts, to senators, or congressmen, to doctors or lawyers, or to businessmen. It is not applied to members of Parliament or to Prime Ministers of England. It has been adopted for the Methodist episcopacy because some bishops have not been willing to recognize that the time has come for their retirement and it was believed that it would prevent hard feeling if there should be a compulsory age limit.

For a man who is capable of fulfilling his episcopal duties to be retired by the almanac leaves such a man in the most difficult situation. He has retired from the activities in which he was engaged when he was elected bishop, which activities he might have continued to carry on successfully until indeed inability to perform his duties would have compelled retirement. The work which he was doing before election as bishop is now being done by others. In what work can he engage which does not mean great waste of accumulated ability to carry on a special work? I would certainly not have agreed to have accepted election had it been coupled with compulsory retirement by an age limit. I do not believe such legislation should be applicable to men who were elected bishops before such legislation was passed.

Men should not be called upon to give up the work they were doing and later on have conditions annexed to the term of service, conditions which did not exist at the time the office was accepted.

But the decision was made. I was consecrated as a bishop and returned to Blackstone to bid a final farewell to the work I loved so well. I was naturally greatly concerned, not only about my own plans, but about plans for the future of the school to which I had given twenty years of my life and which under God's blessings I had seen grow in building, in enrollment, and in influence. It was recognized as the leading training school for girls in the Church. The motto which had been flung to the breeze the first year, was still the motto the last year. "Thorough Instruction under Positive Christian Influence at the Lowest Possible Cost" was not simply a form of words but was recognized throughout the Southern educational world as representing actual facts.⁸

II

During the next four-year period, 1918-1922, Cannon's official episcopal duties were confined to the South and the Southwest, and he moved his family to San Antonio, Texas. The Conferences in his district to begin with were Mexico, New Mexico, and Northwest Texas together with the Texas Mexican and Western Mexican Mission, but he was responsible for New Mexico and Northwest Texas for only one year. In August, 1919, he was elected chairman of the Educational Campaign Commission of his Church. This was an assignment which required "much time and labor," and thus he felt compelled to move his family to the headquarters of the campaign at Nashville, Tennessee. However, in less than a year his responsibilities had been shifted once more, when the two Alabama Conferences were added to his district. The Alabama leaders persuaded him to move to Birmingham, where he was still near enough Nashville to direct the educational campaign.⁹ To climax this continued movement, the College of Bishops in its fall meeting of 1921 requested him to visit the Belgian Congo in order to make a report to the General Conference (1922) about the missionary activity there.

Although this would seem to have been a sufficiently strenuous sched-

8. Cannon apparently intended to incorporate the above fragment into a small book on his Blackstone experiences. Neither the book nor a chapter on Blackstone for the autobiography was completed. It has seemed proper to include it in this introduction since his students have been among those most enthusiastically in favor of some published record of Cannon's career.

9. The information on Cannon's moves are included here because it is not made clear in the text of the autobiography. Supplementary information can be found in Bishop Cannon's official reports printed in the *Journal of the General Conferences, Methodist Episcopal Church, South*, 1922, 1926, 1930, 1934, 1938. Information was also provided by Dean James Cannon III of the Duke University Divinity School.

ule, Cannon was simultaneously engaged in a variety of other activities. Most of these activities were connected with the forty or more committees of which he was a member, some of which were full-time jobs in themselves. Taken together they kept him on the move to Europe and Africa, to the Near East, and within the United States. He estimated that in the four years from 1918 to 1922 alone he traveled more than 300,000 miles exclusive of normal local travel.

At the General Conference of 1922 Cannon was assigned to the Eleventh Episcopal District, into which had been incorporated the Conferences of Cuba and Mexico and the Western Mexican, Texas Mexican, and Congo Missions. Cannon chose Washington, D. C., as his official residence for this quadrennium, although for the last two years his family lived in Durham, North Carolina. Undoubtedly, the factor responsible for the decision to live in Washington was that the Church's Commission on Temperance and Social Service, of which Cannon was chairman, had its headquarters in Washington; "and, as the General Conference did not provide an adequate sum to employ a full-time secretary, the general direction of the work of this commission seemed to devolve upon its chairman. . . ." ¹⁰

Although a lack of funds prevented his making proposed trips to the Congo between 1922 and 1926, he was nevertheless constantly on the move. He attended conferences on temperance in "ten or more" European countries; as chairman of the Near East Relief Advisory Committee of the General Conference he visited the Near East in 1922, 1924, and 1925, in addition to annual conferences of the International Near East Relief; and again his committee responsibilities at home compelled almost continuous traveling even while in the United States.

In 1926 the General Conference shifted Cannon's assignments from the Eleventh to the Ninth Episcopal District. Of his previous responsibilities he retained only the Congo Mission, but added the three Brazilian Conferences. During the quadrennium he visited the Congo twice and Brazil three times. But, as usual, his official episcopal duties occupied only a part of his time. His committee responsibilities had multiplied. Even though a major series of victories in the prohibition fight had been won with the ratification of the Eighteenth Amendment and the passage of the Volstead Act, the campaign was not over; in fact, the Anti-Saloon League's activities consumed an increasing amount of time.

Cannon made it his business to attend every national convention of the two major political parties, both as chairman of the National Legislative Committee of the Anti-Saloon League and as chairman of the

10. *Journal of the Twentieth General Conference* (1926), pp. 46 ff.

Social Service Committee of his Church. His objectives were the retention and more efficient enforcement of the Eighteenth Amendment; and backed by both the League and the Church, his political influence became tremendous. The climax of his political activities came with the election of 1928, when the nomination of Alfred E. Smith by the Democratic party persuaded Cannon to break his lifelong record of Democratic regularity. He became the prime mover in the formation of the Anti-Smith Democrats, an organization responsible for putting Tennessee, Virginia, North Carolina, Florida, and Texas into the Republican column on election day.

With Hoover's victory secure, Cannon's influence had reached its apogee. But for years eyebrows had been raised at such active politicking by an ecclesiastic. During the election of 1928 more criticism was directed against his alleged generation of anti-Catholic prejudice. Although these and other questions created strong factions opposed to Cannon both inside and outside the Church, the Bishop was able to answer them to the satisfaction of his constituents and in fact probably strengthened his position in the course of so doing. Since he was now considered a decisive influence, at least in Virginia politics, politicians were obviously interested in what his future relationship to the Democratic party would be. They wondered specifically what stand he would take in the Virginia gubernatorial election of 1929. Many apparently believed that Cannon's traditional Democratic leanings would prevent him from taking any step which might promote Republicanism in Virginia local government, and consequently there must have been consternation in Democratic ranks when Cannon publicly expressed a determination in June, 1929, to support no gubernatorial candidate who had voted for Smith. In actual fact, this would cut out all candidates acceptable to the Byrd political machine.

At approximately the same time Cannon wrote to the convention of the Anti-Smith Democrats, meeting at Roanoke, Virginia, informing them that Raskob's continuation as chairman of the Democratic National Committee and the Byrd machine's support prevented Cannon's return to the Democratic party. Wrote Cannon: ". . . the issue is 'Raskobism versus Southern Democracy,' and a defeat of the Democratic machine in 1929 is necessary to demonstrate a repudiation of Raskobism."¹¹

Cannon refused to be considered as a candidate for governor, so the convention turned to William Mosely Brown, a teacher at Washington

11. Cannon to Convention of Anti-Smith Democrats, June 16, 1929, Cannon MSS.

and Lee University. The Republican convention chose the same candidate shortly thereafter.

How this election would have come out had Cannon's prestige remained as great as in 1928 will never be answered, for within a few months a series of events virtually destroyed his political influence. The first of these was the publication by the Hearst press of detailed allegations that Cannon had for almost a year in 1927 and 1928 been a patron of an illicit New York "bucket shop." In short, he was accused of engaging in illegal stock gambling. The firm in question, Kable and Company, was then on trial in a federal court charged with using the mails with intent to defraud. No sooner had this charge been publicized than Senator Carter Glass of Virginia aired an accusation which had been kept under cover for some time that Cannon had engaged in speculation in flour in short supply during World War I; and almost simultaneously Representative George H. Tinkham of Massachusetts accused Cannon of misusing funds donated to the Anti-Smith Democrats and a violation of the Federal Corrupt Practices Act (1925) during the election of 1928.

The force of these accusations was to some extent neutralized by the fact that they all originated from sources bitterly hostile to Cannon; nevertheless, the detailed accusation convinced even some of his most faithful supporters that a ventilation of the facts was called for. Although Cannon's immediate reaction was to blame "the wet Roman Catholic press" for the accusations, he announced that he proposed to ask for a full investigation by his Church upon completion of the trial of the two principals in Kable and Company, Harry Goldhurst and Charles W. Kable. In the meantime, he assured his brethren that he had "not violated any civil or moral law."¹²

This position he further maintained in a vigorous defense contained in a pamphlet called *Unspotted from the World*, printed in August, 1929. In this he gave in detail his explanation for the food-hoarding charges; in even greater detail he defended himself against the charge of stock gambling. He pointed out that for the past forty years he had openly engaged in business activities. To keep Blackstone College solvent, he had "bought and sold horses, cattle, hogs, wheat, corn, timber stumpage—anything which had property value," and he usually made a "fair profit." He acknowledged that he had once thought that trading in Wall Street stocks was gambling, but that he had come to the conclusion that stocks and bonds were "issued to represent actual values," and that trading in them was no different from trading in lots, houses,

12. Cannon to Committee on Episcopacy, May 2, 1930, Cannon MSS.

wheat, or merchandise. Kable and Company he had assumed to be a reputable firm, and hence he had bought and sold stock through it.

In October, 1929, Goldhurst and Kable pleaded guilty to the charge of using the mails with intent to defraud, but they were not convicted of, and their lawyers vigorously denied, the "bucket shop" allegations. Cannon, whose name had appeared frequently in this trial, had sailed for Brazil to preside over his Conferences there shortly before the verdict was announced. He remained in Brazil until December and was thus absent when the Byrd machine recovered its political position by a smashing victory over the Anti-Smith Democratic-Republican candidate in the Virginia gubernatorial campaign.

When the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, met at Dallas in May, 1930, its Committee on Episcopacy was faced not only with Cannon's promised request for an investigation but also with charges against him submitted by twenty laymen of the Church. After a consideration of the evidence, consisting of the detailed complaint, accompanying documents, and testimony given at length by Cannon himself, "the committee voted to cite the Bishop to the General Conference for trial."¹³ A subcommittee thereupon drafted the charges and made its report to the main committee. Almost simultaneously, however, Cannon submitted a new statement. While insisting that he had assumed his relationships with Kable and Company to be "legitimate business transactions," he described himself as "sorely grieved that my actions have in any way brought pain and embarrassment to any part of the ministry and membership of my beloved Church." This statement gave the committee pause and finally caused it to rescind the action citing Bishop Cannon for trial, dismiss the charges, and "pass the character" of Bishop Cannon. The committee's action did not pass without protest; in fact, the Conference approved another report of the Committee on Episcopacy which condemned "all forms of gambling," asserted that "to remove a stock transaction from the evil known as gambling, it must be a bona fide transaction, it must be an actual purchase or sale, not a temporary hazard on the possible rise or fall in the price of a stock," and urged that "bishops, preachers and laymen, shall . . . by word and example keep themselves from even the appearance of gambling."¹⁴

The critics of Cannon failed, however, to deliver an even more

13. *Journal of the Twenty-first General Conference, Methodist Episcopal Church, South*, pp. 197 ff.

14. *Ibid.*, pp. 197-199, 231-232, 235.

pointed rebuke. When the new Board on Temperance and Social Service was named for the ensuing year, they fought bitterly against reappointing Cannon chairman—the chair that he had occupied since 1918—but the Bishop's supporters were strong enough to beat back that attack by a vote of 259 to 134; thus he retained the chairmanship and at the same Conference was again assigned to the Brazilian Conferences and the Congo Mission.¹⁵

The Conference at Dallas was no more than over when Cannon felt compelled to defend himself before the Senate Lobby Committee, headed by Senator T. H. Carraway of Arkansas. As mentioned above, Representative Tinkham of Massachusetts had several months before charged Cannon with violating the Federal Corrupt Practices Act by not accounting for a considerable sum of money during the Smith campaign of 1928. In April the volatile Tinkham appeared before the Carraway Committee urging it to summon Bishop Cannon to testify.¹⁶

Since Congress had empowered the committee to investigate only lobbying activities, it obviously must interest itself in the Anti-Saloon League or the Church Board of Temperance and Social Service as lobbies rather than in Cannon's expenditures in the election of 1928. On June 3 Cannon appeared to testify, insisting that it be recorded that he was appearing upon his own initiative. Although his testimony continued for three days, it soon became clear that Cannon was making a nice distinction between the lobbying of organizations to which he belonged and his own personal political activities. Thus he refused to answer questions which he interpreted as being connected with his participation in the election of 1928. Finally, announcing that he was withdrawing as a voluntary witness, he left the committee room saying that if the committee wished to subpoena him, he would be in his Washington office.¹⁷

There was a difference of opinion within the committee as to whether a "voluntary" witness could decide what questions he would answer. In any case, Cannon's stand annoyed certain of its members to such an extent that the full committee was called into executive session on the afternoon of June 12, 1930, to consider citing him for contempt. Here, however, the Bishop won a major victory. After "a heated two-hour session behind closed doors," the committee of five voted unanimously,

15. *Ibid.*, pp. 244-245.

16. *Hearings before a subcommittee of the Committee on the Judiciary, United States Senate, 71st Congress, Second Session, Pursuant to S. Res. 20 . . . to investigate the Activities of Lobbying* . . . pt. 9, pp. 3741 ff.

17. *Ibid.*, pt. 10, especially pp. 4759 ff. Cannon did return for subsequent questioning.

with one partially dissenting, to sustain Bishop Cannon in the stand that he had taken.¹⁸

Although Cannon received some favorable publicity from his defiance of what many considered the unconstitutional actions of the congressional committee, he soon found himself confronting new trials.¹⁹ On the same day that Cannon's victory was announced, the newspapers published for the first time documents which treated in detail his activities on the stock exchange. A month later it was learned that Cannon, whose wife had died after a long illness in 1928, had married his secretary, Mrs. Helen Hawley McCallum, on July 15. The Philadelphia *Record* and numerous Hearst papers followed a routine announcement of the marriage with a story containing details which were obviously calculated to add up to questionable moral conduct. Cannon's critics insisted that these revelations called for another investigation by his church, and by September, 1930, four elders submitted to William N. Ainsworth, the Presiding Bishop, a series of charges which included gambling, flour hoarding, lying, and adultery.²⁰

Ainsworth at once proceeded to arrange for an investigation of the charges. It was not easy to set a time for the investigation, for Cannon, as usual, was traveling, this time fulfilling his episcopal duties in the Brazilian Conferences. He returned to this country in poor health, and further delays occurred.²¹ It was not until February 3, 1931, that the committee of twelve elders which had been chosen to conduct the investigation convened in Washington, D. C. The hearing continued for five days. After several hours' deliberation, the verdict was announced. It was another victory for Bishop Cannon. The official report of Bishop Ainsworth reads: "The committee heard every charge that the complainants presented, with all evidence that was offered to sustain them, and a statement from Bishop Cannon, the accused and the accusers being brought face to face. After due deliberation the committee found no trial necessary and recorded its judgment in legal form."²²

Although the Church had again sustained Cannon's position, his critics renewed the attack from a congressional committee. This time the medium chosen was Senator Gerald P. Nye's Committee on Senatorial

18. *New York Times*, June 13, 1930.

19. See, for example, H. L. Mencken in the *Baltimore Evening Sun*, June 9, 1930; *Boston Evening Transcript*, June 9, 1930.

20. *Journal of the Twenty-second General Conference, Methodist Episcopal Church, South*, pp. 23-24.

21. See, for example, Dr. Ray Lyman Sexton to Bishop Ainsworth, Oct. 24, 1930, Cannon MSS.

22. *Journal of the Twenty-second General Conference, Methodist Episcopal Church, South*, p. 24.

Campaign Expenditures. Although this committee had been functioning since April, 1930, it had recently suspended activities because of a lack of funds. However, Senator Glass injected new life into its investigations by proposing that the committee inquire into expenditures during the 1928 campaign together with "fraudulent conversion to private uses of any campaign funds contributed for use in any election in 1928, as defined in the Corrupt Practices Act of 1925." Obviously Glass, who had already spent a surprising amount of effort in gathering information that could be used against the Bishop, was thinking of Cannon, and Congress apparently approved, because it now granted the committee additional funds.²³

The Nye Committee renewed its investigations on February 11, 1931. Although Cannon did not testify, he was present and was allowed to question witnesses. The testimony was inconclusive, but the committee was much interested in the fact that Cannon had deposited in a personal checking account \$8,000 contributed to the Anti-Smith Democrats.²⁴ The committee recessed after a day's testimony, and for the next three months Cannon fenced with its chairman. Nye accused Cannon of "making sport of the committee" by feigning sickness, while Cannon countered with doctor's reports which advised against an early resumption of the hearing. Cannon insisted, furthermore, that the Senate Resolution under which the investigation was taking place was unconstitutional and cited in support a Supreme Court decision, *Kilbourne vs. Thompson*, February 28, 1881, which stated: "If crime has been committed, the Grand Jury shall investigate. . . . All the judicial power is vested in the courts by the Constitution. Implied powers do not exist in either House."²⁵

The committee ignored these complaints, and testimony began again on May 6, 1931. It immediately ran into difficulty, however, when the

23. *Hearings before a Select Committee on Senatorial Campaign Expenditures, United States Senate, 71st Congress, 3rd Session pursuant to . . . S. Res. 403 A Resolution Authorizing the Investigation of Complaints of Alleged Violations of the Federal Corrupt Practices Act Relating to Campaign Expenditures, Virginia, Feb. 11, 1931* (hereinafter cited as *Nye Hearing*) p. 1; *New York Times*, Jan. 17, 1931. The story of Glass's zeal in gathering material to use against Cannon is to be found in the correspondence between Glass and James J. O'Brien. O'Brien claimed to be the one who exposed the relationship between Cannon and Kable and Company. Later, however, he broke with Glass and turned over much of the correspondence to the Bishop in order to reveal to the latter the one who had caused him "all this pain and worryment." The complete correspondence together with documents on Glass's efforts to prove Cannon guilty of speculating in flour during World War I is available in the Glass Collection at the University of Virginia. The Cannon MSS contain the Glass-O'Brien correspondence.

24. *Nye Hearing*, pp. 52 ff.; *New York Times*, Feb. 12, 1931.

25. *New York Times*, April 23, 1931; Cannon to Nye, May 6, 1931, *Nye Hearing*, p. 66.

first witness called, Miss Ada L. Burroughs, Cannon's close associate in Virginia and Treasurer of the Headquarters Committee of the Anti-Smith Democrats in 1928, refused to testify on the ground that the committee lacked jurisdiction.²⁶ For the next four months, in the press and in the courts, Cannon fought the jurisdiction of the committee. However the courts found against him on this issue and on August 25 the hearing resumed.²⁷ Again Miss Burroughs refused to testify; Cannon was not called; and the evidence submitted did little more than confirm previous testimony.

The evidence submitted was nevertheless sufficient to persuade a District of Columbia Grand Jury to conduct an inquiry "into charges that Bishop Cannon and Miss Ada L. Burroughs . . . conspired to violate the corrupt practices act by their alleged failure to file a proper report of campaign expenditures. . . ."²⁸ On October 8 this new investigation began, and as a result Cannon and Miss Burroughs were indicted on ten counts. The first eight boiled down to charges that Miss Burroughs, aided and abetted by Bishop Cannon, had wilfully failed to file certain political expense accounts, and the last two charged "conspiracy with regard to the previous eight counts."²⁹

Immediately upon receipt of a copy of the indictment Cannon announced that he was temporarily giving up his episcopal duties in Brazil and the Congo. His statement included an implicit denial of the charges against him, an accusation that the indictment was the climax of a three-year effort on the part of his enemies—some wets, some Roman Catholics, and some "stand pat Southern Democrats"—to destroy his influence, and an affirmation of his determination, if necessary, to carry the case to the Supreme Court of the United States.³⁰ Although he had earlier indicated that he welcomed a Grand Jury action, he now found the indictment "so defective" that his attorneys filed a demurrer, the merits of which were argued before the District Supreme Court in December. This proved to be the beginning of a new series of legal maneuvers.³¹

26. *Nye Hearing*, pp. 67 ff.

27. See, for example, *New York Times*, July 31, 1931; Aug. 13, 1931.

28. *New York Times*, Oct. 1, 1931.

29. *New York Times*, Oct. 17, 1931; Bishop Cannon, "A Personal Statement," March 9, 1934, Cannon MSS.

30. *New York Times*, Oct. 21, 1931.

31. *New York Times*, Dec. 1, 1931. Cannon's principal argument was that presidential electors were state officers, and hence that their election should not be subjected to federal control. The government argued that the electors, though state officers, were merely figureheads, that any organization, such as Cannon's, which operated in more than one state could not be subjected to state control, and that federal control was the only alternative.

The decision of the court was delayed until February because of the judge's illness. But in the meantime the Nye Committee published a report which asserted that Cannon had deposited money to his personal account and that he had not reported all the funds used in the Anti-Smith campaign. Cannon promptly assailed the report as containing "many amazing misstatements of fact and unwarranted conclusions," and asserted that all the testimony could have been satisfactorily explained had the committee granted him an opportunity for rebuttal.³² On February 12 "Justice James M. Proctor upheld Cannon's position that the indictment was defective. The Judge based his decision upon the thesis that the counts of indictment were void because they failed to allege as a fact that certain contributors were known to Miss Burroughs," the treasurer of the Virginia Anti-Smith Democrats. He did not pass on the constitutionality of the investigation."³³

Although the Justice Department immediately decided upon an appeal, it was not until October that the District Court of Appeals was ready to hear the case. In the meantime Cannon had sailed for Europe to attend various international conferences on world peace, disarmament, and alcoholism. He had already decided that he would not participate actively in the presidential campaign; apparently he planned to vote for Hoover if he would give "a satisfactory guarantee" that he would "safeguard the country from the saloon"; otherwise he would confine his efforts to "making speeches on behalf of dry senators."³⁴

On October 3 the government tried again. The Court of Appeals listened to an hour's argument from each side in the dispute, but the issue was muddled, because Cannon's lawyers questioned the jurisdiction of the court. They argued that the case should have been taken directly from the District Court to the Supreme Court of the United States. After several months' delay the appellate court appealed to the Supreme Court for instructions.³⁵ The case was argued before the Supreme Court on March 14, 1933, and in April the high Court unanimously asserted that the Appeals Court did have jurisdiction.³⁶ This was a defeat for Cannon, but it meant nothing more than that the Appeals Court must now decide whether Cannon should stand trial for violation of the Corrupt Practices Act on May 15. The Appeals Court so decided—whereupon Cannon appealed that decision to the Supreme

32. *New York Times*, Dec. 23, 1931. The report, dated Dec. 21, 1931, is *Senate Report No. 20, 72^d Cong. 1st Sess.*

33. *New York Times*, Feb. 13, 1932.

34. *New York Times*, Aug. 27, 1932.

35. Cannon's personal statement, March 9, 1934; *New York Times*, March 11, 1933.

36. *New York Times*, April 11, 1933.

Court.³⁷ On January 8, 1934, the Supreme Court upheld the Appeals Court to the extent that it insisted that Cannon and Miss Burroughs must stand trial, but at the same time quashed the first eight of the ten counts of the indictment. What this meant was that the accused could not be tried on the charges of wilfully failing to report certain campaign expenditures, but must be tried on the charges of "conspiracy" to do these things. According to a New York *Times* reporter, Cannon remarked after listening to the Supreme Court's decision: "They'll have a tough job proving conspiracy."³⁸

The Department of Justice, however, made preparations for the trial. On April 9 the jury was completed and the opening plea made. According to the government, Miss Burroughs and Cannon had "conspired and agreed together" not to report certain contributions because of Cannon's desire to conceal the sources of the money used to defeat Smith, because of Cannon's appropriation of the contributions for his own personal use, and because, therefore, of an inability to report expenditures for legitimate campaign purposes.³⁹

For three weeks the trial went on. A parade of some twenty witnesses was called. Although much of the evidence here presented was the same as that which had been unearthed at previous hearings, Cannon himself for the first time testified at length. He insisted that only a portion of the funds contributed were used by the Headquarters of the Anti-Smith Democrats, that the remainder was spent by a local state committee. These latter funds, he contended, were spent within a single state and therefore not subject to the jurisdiction of the Federal Corrupt Practices Act. It was difficult for the government to prove that this committee had not existed. It was even more difficult to prove conspiracy. In his charge to the jury Justice Peyton Gordon warned: "You can't find one guilty without finding the other guilty; if one is not guilty, the other is not guilty." On April 27 the jury acquitted Miss Burroughs and Cannon of having conspired to violate the Federal Corrupt Practices Act.⁴⁰

The climax to the hectic, five-year series of hearings came at the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, which assembled at Jackson, Mississippi, three days before Cannon's acquittal by the Civil Court. It was a foregone conclusion that Cannon's critics would broach the question of his retirement. Equally certain it was that Cannon

37. New York *Times*, May 16, 1933. Cannon was arraigned and pleaded not guilty to violating the Corrupt Practices Act on July 17. On October 23 the Supreme Court agreed to review the lower court decision.

38. New York *Times*, Jan. 9, 1934; personal statement, March 9, 1934.

39. New York *Times*, April 10, 1934.

40. New York *Times*, April 28, 1934.

would not accede to this voluntarily. In fact Cannon himself had been determined that the trial be completed before the General Conference in the hope that the verdict would clear the air. The Committee on Episcopacy raised the issue when in one report to the Conference it "passed the character" of Bishop Cannon, but then dropped his name from the list of "effective bishops."⁴¹

Immediately the issue was joined. A Cannon supporter moved that Cannon's name be added to the list of effective bishops. For almost two hours the Conference debated. The opposition contended that it was not to the best interests of the Church to retain Cannon as bishop. Cannon's supporters argued that a Church committee had cleared him two years before, that a civil court had just judged him not guilty, that the wets would rejoice in his downfall, and that he should be permitted to retire in due course at the next General Conference. These views prevailed, and by a vote of 269 to 170 Cannon's name was added to the list of effective bishops.⁴²

Although this did not end the controversy over Cannon's career, it was the last of the major crises and to him and his friends, if not to his opponents, it was his vindication.⁴³ The General Conference of 1934 assigned him episcopal supervision over a vast area consisting of Western Texas, Arizona, California, Oregon, Washington, Idaho, and part of Montana. Four years later he retired from active service as bishop, having reached the compulsory retirement age, but he continued to participate in national and international church conferences and fought a rear-guard action in the prohibition campaign. In politics his principal contributions were frequent communications to the press. He found little to praise in the New Deal, insisting that it had nothing in common with the tenets of Jeffersonian democracy. He was equally critical of the Administration's foreign policy, being in favor of early and belligerent action against both Germany and Japan.

41. *Ibid.*, May 4, 1934; Cannon to R. H. McNeil, Feb. 26, 1934, Cannon MSS; *Christian Century*, May 16, 1934.

42. *Daily Christian Advocate*, May 4, 1934, pp. 66 ff.

43. In this short introduction there is no space for a consideration of the numerous libel suits entered by Cannon against his critics. It must be noted, however, that in 1937 his opponents did find considerable satisfaction in the failure of Cannon's libel suit against Representative Tinkham. Not only did the Federal District Judge find for Tinkham, but he stated specifically that he believed that the charges made against Cannon of violating the Federal Corrupt Practices Act were "substantially true" (*New York Times*, Feb. 6, 1937). The U. S. Court of Appeals upheld this verdict and the U. S. Supreme Court refused a further appeal (*ibid.*, June 28 and Dec. 6, 1938).

III

By this time he had already begun to write his autobiography. The decision was apparently in response to an urge to put on the record the answer to "all the vicious, slanderous attacks upon him by those whose purposes, policies and acts he has vigorously opposed."⁴⁴

By 1937 Cannon had written three chapters. In spite of all the writing he had done previously he worried about it. Was it too diffuse? Was the story "sufficiently interesting for anyone to be willing to read it once having started it"? Did it magnify Cannon to such an extent that the other facts would not themselves have real interest value? He requested criticism, the same sort provided by "my old Professor Peabody of Princeton . . . when he criticized my voice, my lack of feeling, my lack of appropriate gesture, and lack of logic."⁴⁵

The writing went on, but not so rapidly as either he or his friends wished. "A progressive case of hypertrophic arthritis," apparently caused by a fever contracted in the Belgian Congo in 1927, handicapped his research. He could write only a few words at a time, and he found it next to impossible to handle documents. Moreover, as he himself said, "The only way in which I can ever get the autobiography finished is to shut myself up, and devote my time and energy and follow St. Paul's example in saying, 'This one thing I do.'" Such a life for Cannon was impossible.⁴⁶

By 1942 both Cannon and his friends feared that he would not finish the manuscript before his death. His close friend and brother-in-law, R. H. Bennett, wrote him: "Don't you dare to think of leaving the planet before you finish *and publish* that autobiography. No telling what a mess anybody else who tries to finish it will make of it. But you had better hurry up, you are not immortal—not in your present make-up—and you can't send back your manuscript after you leave. . . ."⁴⁷

Late in 1942, because of his increasing need for clerical assistance, he approved a move to raise a fund which would enable him to finish the manuscript. After considerable consultation with Cannon, R. H. Bennett communicated with many of Cannon's friends. In response a fund of more than \$1200 was raised.⁴⁸

Unfortunately, Cannon did not concentrate even then on finishing the autobiography. He could not "quit 'going to meeting.'" Still on the

44. Mimeographed letter [1943], letterhead of R. H. Bennett, Cannon MSS.

45. Cannon to R. E. Blackwell, June 25, 1937, Cannon MSS.

46. Cannon to R. H. Bennett, Nov. 13, 1942, Cannon MSS.

47. R. H. Bennett to Cannon, April 5, 1943, Cannon MSS.

48. *Ibid.*; Cannon to R. H. Bennett, Nov. 13, 1942, and April 8, 1943, Bennett to Cannon, Dec. 2, 1942, Cannon MSS.

Executive Committee of the Anti-Saloon League, he usually attended the meetings. He was especially urged to go to the one held in 1944 in Chicago. Although he was in poor health, he decided to go and was in Chicago by August 30. At the same time Mrs. Cannon drove their car to Michigan to visit some of her relatives. Late on the night of August 30 Mr. E. B. Dunford, an associate of Cannon's, received a telephone message from Mrs. Cannon stating that the car had been stolen, that the police had recovered it, but that the baggage had not been recovered.⁴⁹

Dunford went to Cannon's room to inform him of Mrs. Cannon's message. The Bishop was obviously not well, and so Dunford did not relay all the details of the accident, simply assuring him that Mrs. Cannon had not been injured. Six days later Bishop Cannon died.

He had planned that should he die before the autobiography was completed, the manuscript would be turned over to his son, Professor James Cannon III, of the Duke University Divinity School. Professor Cannon, somewhat reluctantly, assumed the task. He discovered that the final draft of the manuscript, which had apparently been completed to about 1932, had been in the baggage stolen from the car a few days before his father's death. There were available from one to three drafts of the earlier chapters,⁵⁰ but almost nothing was found that related to his activities at Blackstone, and the detailed narrative ended in the middle of a chapter devoted to the election of 1928.

Professor Cannon collated various drafts and organized his father's papers. The papers, consisting of some forty-three filing boxes of clippings, correspondence, and copies of articles, have been turned over to the Duke University Library, where they will now be available for research. A manuscript consisting of a combination of the various drafts of his father's autobiography, prepared by Professor Cannon, was turned over to the present writer for final editing.

The autobiography, before its final editing, was approximately 900 typed pages in length. This consisted largely of one of Bishop Cannon's drafts written in the first person. However, there was some additional information in another draft of part of the autobiography written in the third person, and this Professor Cannon incorporated in the first person draft. These additions the editor has retained without notation, after checking the final compilation against the various originals. The origi-

49. Dunford to James Cannon III, Sept. 12, 1944, Cannon MSS.

50. James Cannon III to R. H. Bennett, Sept. 18, 1944; Bennett to Cannon, Sept. 20, 1944, Cannon MSS.

nal drafts have been deposited with the Cannon papers in the Duke University Library.

For purposes of publication, approximately two hundred and fifty pages of the original manuscript have been omitted. These pages related principally to Bishop Cannon's early life and to his European travels and seemed to the editor incidental to the main narrative. In some instances repetition was involved, but in most instances the subject matter omitted could be described as social history or church history and would undoubtedly have been of interest to someone. On the other hand, some will with reason say that the editor should have been more ruthless in eliminating material peripheral to the main stream of the story or in compressing some of Cannon's somewhat involved exposition. Yet it is the opinion of the editor that the elimination of the involved exposition, although making for easier reading, would reduce the historical value of the autobiography as a document.

The volume that results is not a sensational revelation. No more than the average autobiography does it provide satisfactory answers to all the questions that might be raised about Cannon's career. Yet it does reflect his personality and character and provides evidence on some of the controversial questions. Its value, moreover, does not lie entirely in what it tells about Bishop Cannon. Its early chapters, for example, throw light on life in a border state not long after the Civil War, on educational techniques in college and divinity school, and on problems of a Methodist preacher in riding the circuit. Its later chapters show, among other things, how a dedicated ecclesiastic took a wet Virginia political machine and dried it up, later broke with it, and created an organization which was, temporarily at least, stronger than the machine.

Bishop Cannon understandably had difficulty in organizing the story of his life. A straight chronological treatment was impossible because of the complexity of his activities. Cannon solved this rather logically by separating his ecclesiastical activities from those primarily concerned with what he called "public life and social reform." Although such an organization occasionally leads to repetition and makes it difficult to see the interrelationship of his activities, it is probably less confusing than any other possible organization.

The editor has made several changes in the organization. The original of the chapter on Episcopal Activities included subdivisions treated in the following order: Mexico (1920-1930), Cuba (1923-1926), The Belgian Congo (1921-1922), Alabama (1920-1922), The Congo (1922-1929), Brazil (1926-1930), World-wide Church Work (1920-1927), Near East Relief (1922-1929), Unification, and the Controversy with Bishop Mou-

zon. After numerous readings and some consultation with colleagues, the editor interchanged several of the sections listed above. He has also transposed phrases in several sentences which seemed obscure, and punctuation has been occasionally changed. He has also placed the chapter on episcopal activities after those chapters which relate the story of Cannon's public career before 1918. He justified the transposition and the other editorial changes mentioned on the grounds that the original organization was, in his opinion, somewhat confusing and that the draft available was not Cannon's final revision.

Editing the manuscript raised the even more delicate question of whether to comment critically upon the story that Cannon was telling. The temptation was to footnote every controversial statement that Cannon made and to write a biography of Cannon from 1928 until his death. The temptation was resisted on the ground that this should be Cannon's story. Footnotes have been used principally to identify people who the editor thought, or who Cannon seemed to think, played an important part in the latter's career. Occasionally they are used to amplify a vague reference in the text. They have not been used to appraise. Occasionally short gaps in the text which obviously were inadvertently left out have been filled in; this material has been included in brackets as have also any words which have been added.

Only a small portion of the autobiography narrating the controversial personal developments that occurred after 1928 has been found. The temptation here was to assume an obligation of passing judgment on these developments. Again the editor resisted the temptation on the ground that, given the primary responsibility of letting the Bishop tell his own story, it would be both out of place and impossible with the limitations of space to write satisfactorily a critical study of the Bishop's later career.

The introduction, therefore, was written with three objectives. The first was to clarify the chronology, which occasionally gets somewhat confusing in the autobiography; the second was to amplify briefly important events in the Bishop's life which for one reason or another were not treated in the autobiography; and the third was to tell something about the history of the manuscript itself.

The editor wishes to thank most sincerely those who have contributed their time, advice, and resources to the completion of this project. Special thanks are due to the Duke University Research Council, which provided funds for secretarial help; to those friends of Bishop Cannon who helped him in writing the original, particularly Miss Ada Bur-

roughs and Mrs. James Cannon III; to those who have helped in typing, checking footnotes, and proofreading; to Dr. W. T. Laprade, Professor Emeritus of history at Duke University, who has given generously of his wisdom; to Mr. Ashbel G. Brice, director of the Duke Press, and his colleagues for their advice and skill; and to Dean James Cannon III, of the Duke University Divinity School, who not only entrusted the editor with the project but provided him with an accurate and clean manuscript, gave him complete access to his father's papers, has not tried to influence in any way the editing process, and has at no time complained about what must have seemed unwarranted delay in bringing the project to completion.

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Bishop Cannon's Own Story



Author's Preface

IN WRITING THIS STORY of Life as I Have Seen It I think it in place to say that this Life would probably never have been written had it not been for the anti-Smith campaign in 1928, and for the events which have followed that campaign. But in view of what did happen, especially during the years from 1928 to 1934, it has seemed to be necessary in justice not only to myself, but to those who were associated with me in my work, to my friends who have believed in me, to my family, and to the causes with which I have been connected and for which I have labored from early manhood. It is necessary, in order to understand the conditions of 1928 which decided my course of action, to have a full knowledge of the background of my preceding activities. If in writing the early part of Life as I Have Seen It, and this part, I quote at some length resolutions and appreciations by various bodies, speeches and writings by individuals commending my work, I trust it will not be considered that the object of this is simply to publish praises of myself and my work, but to print what was said from time to time by individuals and organizations fully cognizant of all the facts and capable of passing judgment for the one purpose—to place on record the facts as they appear from the viewpoint of my friends as an answer to the attacks made upon me by my enemies.

There are statements in these pages which I would not make concerning individuals, were it not absolutely necessary to indicate how misunderstandings, prejudices, and positive persecution made it necessary for me to defend myself in order that not only [I] myself, but my cause might not be discredited, indeed utterly destroyed, by false accusations.

I. Childhood and Youth

In this chapter the writer endeavors to give a picture of life in a godly, Methodist home and of the activities of a normal Methodist Church in the years 1870-1880.

IF JAMES CANNON, JR., does not prove a success, both as a Christian man and as a minister of the Gospel, he will owe an eternal apology to his parents, for few men have ever been blessed with a father and a mother [who are] more consecrated to Christ, more untiring and fruitful in good works and more devoted to the real welfare of their children than the subject of this free-hand sketch. Their home is in Salisbury, on the Eastern Shore of Maryland, where he was born November 13, 1864.¹

I am the son of James Cannon and Lydia Primrose Cannon, and was born in Salisbury, Maryland, on November 13, 1864. My father was the son of Josiah Cannon, a farmer and a merchant of Bridgeville, Sussex County, Delaware. Josiah Cannon was the grandson of James Cannon, a native of Edinburgh, Scotland, who moved to Philadelphia in 1740 as a young man and was a member of the Continental Congress from Pennsylvania.²

My grandfather, Josiah Cannon, was a man of prominence and influence in his neighborhood and county. He owned the largest general store in the county, and the distinguishing feature for which it was well known was that it would sell no kind of intoxicating liquor, although it was sold in the other general stores. . . .

My grandfather was twice married. The only three children whom I remember by his first marriage were my uncle, William Cannon, who became the governor of Delaware as a War Democrat,³ and his daughter

1. This is from the sketch of Cannon in John J. Lafferty, *Sketches and Portraits of the Virginia Conference, Methodist Episcopal Church, South* (Richmond: Christian Advocate Office, 1890).

2. Cannon is in error here. James Cannon was a member of the Pennsylvania Convention of 1776 called to draft a constitution for the state (William H. Egle, "The Constitutional Convention of 1776, Biographical Sketches of Its Members," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, III, 1879, 198).

3. William Cannon (1809-1865) was a Democratic member of the House of Representatives (1844-1848), a member of the Peace Convention (1861), and a pro-union Democrat. The Union party nominated him for governor (1862). Although the Democrats

ters Elizabeth Cannon . . . and Margaret Cannon, who married William Redden and moved to Eldorado, Kansas, where she lived to her ninety-first year. . . .

By his second marriage my grandfather had four children, the oldest of whom was my father, James, who was born at Bridgeville, Delaware, November 29, 1831. My father attended the best private schools of his day and as a young man taught school for two years. My grandfather, however, did not want any of his children to be dependent; so he left to each of them a farm and to my uncle William the general store at Bridgeville. In May, 1854, my father married Lydia Primrose of Milford, Delaware. She was the daughter of James Primrose, a Scotchman and a well-to-do sea captain sailing a large vessel from Philadelphia to Liverpool and Glasgow. Both families were active and prominent in the Methodist Church, which was at that time, and has been ever since, the leading denomination in the church life of Delaware and the Eastern Shore of Maryland. . . .

My father lived on a farm in Sussex County, two or three miles from the Delaware Railroad. On this farm my brother, George P. Cannon, was born in April, 1855. A year or two later my father was offered and accepted the appointment under the Buchanan administration of chief mail agent from Wilmington to Delmar, a town on the Delaware-Maryland line. . . . For convenience's sake the family moved to Wilmington, where they joined the Asbury Methodist Church, of which my father soon became a steward. In Wilmington three daughters were born, two of whom died in infancy in Wilmington of throat trouble. The third was born in November, 1861, after the beginning of the war, and was named Virginia because of the great admiration of my father for the Old Dominion.

By that time feeling had become very strong in Delaware owing to great differences of opinion as to the war policy of President Lincoln. The arrest and the imprisonment by the federal government of a number of the members of the Maryland legislature to prevent the state from passing the ordinance of secession outraged my father's feelings of justice and right.⁴ Shortly afterward my uncle, William Cannon, was

carried the legislature, Cannon was elected. As governor, he gave vigorous support to the federal government. A Joint Committee of the legislature accused him of having been one of those responsible for posting federal troops at the polls in 1862 (George H. Ryden, *Dictionary of American Biography*, III, 478; see also Walter A. Powell, *A History of Delaware*, Boston, 1928, pp. 263-284).

4. In the spring of 1861 the Maryland legislature had adopted a resolution that an ordinance of secession was not in accord with the state constitution. However, in September so great was the fear that Maryland might secede that nineteen members of the

elected governor of Delaware as a War Democrat, but before his death he became a Republican, and his children and grandchildren have been prominent since that time in the Republican party in Delaware. My father, however, was not only an ardent Democrat and a thorough believer in the principles of the Democratic party, but was an intense sympathizer with the South and made no attempt to conceal his views, nor did he hesitate to state his position frankly. When he was drafted to enter the Northern army, he was unwilling to enter into a war which he considered to be a violation of the Constitution and a denial of the rights of the states. Having a wife and two small children, he was permitted to pay the amount required to hire a substitute.⁵ . . .

As the war progressed, public and private discussion became more heated and bitter, and the election of my uncle, William Cannon, to be governor as a Democrat pledged to the war, made the situation of my father exceedingly difficult. After thorough investigation he sold his farm, took what money he had, and with his wife and two children and his younger brother, Josiah, who sympathized with his political views, went to Salisbury, on the lower Eastern Shore of Maryland, about six miles south of Delaware and twenty-five miles from the Virginia line. In that section the people were strongly Democratic; and probably a majority, certainly of the leading citizens, sympathized with the South, and the Cannon brothers were received cordially. The brothers had had some experience as clerks in their brother William's store at Bridgeville. Instead, however, of opening a general store, my father decided to specialize in shoes for men and women, and clothing and furnishings for men. A lot was secured in the center of the business portion of the town on a corner facing on Main Street. A large frame building was erected with a commodious storeroom on the corner, the rest of the house being arranged for residence purposes. . . . While the residence part of the building was [being] finished, the family lived in a small house on the side street, in which house I was born on November 13, 1864. I was for my first year a very delicate child and was carried around on a pillow most of the time and was not expected to live, but with careful nursing and feeding I passed the critical stage and became a normally healthy child.

legislature together with the mayor of Baltimore and others were placed "under arbitrary military arrest" (Matthew Page Andrews, *Tercentenary History of Maryland*, 4 vols., Chicago: S. J. Clarke, 1925, I, 839-840; James G. Randall, *Civil War and Reconstruction*, New York: D. C. Heath, 1937, p. 324).

5. James Primrose, the younger brother of Lydia Primrose Cannon, was drafted and served in the Northern Army, where he contracted tuberculosis, from which he died a few years after the war.

As was their custom, my parents joined the Methodist Church promptly upon their arrival in Salisbury, and because of his intelligence and devotion to the church my father was shortly afterward elected a steward and then chairman of the Board [of Stewards]. . . .

Our home life was thrust through and through with the religious belief of my parents but without the slightest cant or censoriousness. In all their thinking Jerusalem, the Church of God, was indeed their chief joy. It could hardly be said that they put the church above the home or the home above the church. They could not think of one except as they thought of the other. They could not separate them in their minds. [A copy of] the Bible was in practically every room in the house. Every member of the family had one Bible and sometimes two, one smaller and one larger. My father used his favorite Bible every morning for family prayer service, which was held in the sitting room before breakfast. . . .

The church loomed larger in the family life than any other factor. Even to the children it stood out as more important than the daily school. Before I could walk I was carried to church and Sunday School by my mother, not simply on Sunday morning, but Sunday afternoon to Sunday School, Sunday night to church service, Wednesday night to prayer meeting, and Friday night to class meeting. In early years I often put my head in my mother's lap and went to sleep. But I rarely went to sleep at class meeting, and not often at prayer meeting. The people who attended Sunday School, church services, prayer and class meetings were the people who really counted in the life of our family. My father was the superintendent of the Sunday School and was chairman of the Board of Stewards. My mother was a Sunday School teacher and was the recognized Dorcas of the church life. She was, indeed, a veritable angel of mercy in the homes of the poor and the suffering. No two people were ever more highly respected and more greatly loved by an entire congregation than were my parents.

Probably no congregation was ever bound more closely together than the Salisbury congregation of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. The church was not organized until after the end of the war, and it had been hoped that there would be no division of the Methodist people of the town; but shortly after the close of the war a minister was sent to Salisbury Methodist Church who was not only lacking in the basal elements of common sense, but was absolutely lacking in tact. He could not refrain from bringing into his sermons illustrations glorifying President Lincoln, the Northern generals, and Northern victories, and denouncing President Davis, General Lee, and Stonewall Jackson, and other Southern

leaders. At last, one Sunday he denounced all sympathizers with the South, during the war and since, as being traitors worthy of punishment. My father, chairman of the Board of Stewards, sitting near the front, touched my mother on the shoulder and said, "This is no place for us. We cannot worship God here." Taking his hat, he quietly walked down the aisle and went out of the church, followed by my brother, sister, and my mother leading me by the hand, [and by] six other stewards with their families and other members of the congregation. They met that afternoon in the parlor of my father's home and decided to organize a church and to ask the Virginia Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, to include Salisbury as a charge of the Norfolk District and to send a pastor, promising support for a single man. The request was promptly granted, and the church was organized and worshiped in a schoolhouse until the congregation was able to build a neat frame church. . . .

The chief aim of both my father and my mother was to serve God as grateful, loving children, rejoicing in salvation by faith in Jesus Christ, and to train their children to be efficient workers in the Kingdom of God. They did not depend upon church services alone, but shaped the entire life of the home to accomplish that great end. My father was not only an earnest, well-equipped student of the Bible but he was also an unusually well-read man. He was an intelligent, logical thinker, with strong analytical powers. His wide reading had given him a choice vocabulary and his intense earnestness made him a very effective speaker. He was fresh and versatile in his work as a Bible teacher, Sunday School superintendent, and class leader. I think his greatest power was in family or public prayer, which was directly the outgrowth of much private prayer. It was almost a regular part of the church service, either morning or evening, for the pastor to call on him for the closing prayer. Many a time his appeal to the throne of grace, based upon the Scripture which had been read and expounded, was far more powerful and effective upon the hearts of the hearers than had been the sermon. His preparation for leadership in the Sunday School was his chief work during the week and as much of it as possible was wrought out in the family circle.

Being taken into the thinking of our parents, we came to regard the Bible in its right position with reference to all other books, as indeed a lamp to the feet and a light to the pathway. My mother taught me to memorize great passages of the Bible. Text after text, passage after passage, entire psalms and chapters, were stored away in the memory and became a part of the daily thinking and more or less of the daily vocabulary, and have continued with me as a precious treasure all down

through the years. No other language or thought has been as helpful or has been as appealing and convincing as an apt quotation from the Bible.

It was not alone the Bible which was taught to us. Most delightful hours were spent in the evening when, with Mother quietly sewing and darning and the children grouped around in comfortable attitudes, Father would read to us biographies, historical sketches, short stories, sometimes a novel of the best current literature, sometimes the best poetry of Scott, Longfellow, Whittier, and others. When my sister, Virginia Cannon, was old enough to play on the organ we all joined in songs, especially just before bedtime. While playing cards were not used in our home, as my parents thought it was a mistake to acquaint the children with one of the favorite tools of the gamblers and the worldly minded, yet backgammon, parcheesi, authors [monarchs and thrones], and especially dominoes were frequently played. My father was unusually good at games and to beat him at a game was a great ambition which all the children had.

It was a great help to us to play innocent games with our parents, causing us to realize that [their] objection to other forms of amusements was not because of any hidebound Puritanism or opposition to pleasant diversions in themselves, but only to those forms of diversions which cannot properly be taken in the name of the Lord Jesus. . . .

At quite an early age I was encouraged to earn some money for myself. As soon as I could be of any help I stayed in the store, on Saturdays, in the afternoons after school, in busy seasons, and part of the time during the summer holidays. I learned the value of the different articles on sale and my father early taught me never to try to sell anything by deceiving a customer, but to tell him very carefully the difference in the value of the lower and the higher priced articles. I became a great favorite with the Negroes, and before I left home to go to college was a fairly good salesman with a steadily increasing personal trade. In addition to the money paid for store work, I was paid for sawing the wood burned in the kitchen and the fireplaces at the rate of \$1.60 a cord, for sawing a four-foot stick into three pieces and splitting up the larger stick for the kitchen stove. This was a steady job, averaging an hour or two every day all the year around. A favorite family dish was beaten biscuits. I was taught to weigh out the flour and the lard, to turn the same over to the cook, and after she had properly mixed the dough, to beat it with a hatchet until it blistered. At a later date a biscuit kneader was bought and the flour was run through the kneader backwards and forwards until it blistered. Freezing ice cream or custard was a favorite job, oc-

casionally in winter, but two or three times a week in summer. Compensation for these household chores, while not large, was ample. There was always a goodly little sum in my savings bank to use for any special purpose, along with money given me by my father and my mother. . . .

The Negroes in our town lived in a separate part called Georgetown, where no white people lived. They had a large well-furnished Negro church with rather loud-voiced Negro preachers, who always visited my father on special occasions, insisted on his coming up and speaking to the Negroes, which offer my father always accepted, knowing as he did that in addition to his talk, the preacher expected not less than a ten-dollar bill in the collection basket. Without any special thought, I assumed the attitude of my father and mother towards the Negroes, regarding them as children in development, as dependents who must be cared for and who should be treated with justice and kindness. My father employed a number of Negroes on his farms and truck lots and I knew them all and, with few exceptions, I liked them all, and they liked me. . . .

The public schools of Salisbury in the seventies were not much above the average of schools of that kind in a country town in the Southern states. At first the pupils sat on long benches, each holding six or eight pupils, with long desks made by the local carpenters in front of the benches. There were from thirty to fifty children in a room and only three rooms, except in the high school, so that the grading was not very good. Any teacher had a difficult time to give the needed instruction to each child and at the same time to keep order. I thoroughly enjoyed my school days. I was so eager to learn new things that studying was not a hardship. . . .

When I entered the high school, I was quite well prepared, for I had done a great deal of studying at home. The principal of the high school at that time was a man of extraordinary training for that place and time. He was the son of well-to-do parents, who had sent him to Yale, where he had earned the degree of Master of Arts. . . . He was not only a fine language scholar, but was excellent in mathematics and in what we then called natural philosophy. My teacher and I formed a strong attachment for each other from the very beginning. The three years spent in the high school were as happy as any in my entire life. Algebra, plane and solid geometry, trigonometry, Latin grammar, exercises, reading, Caesar, Cicero, English composition, with choice parallel reading and Guyot's *Natural Philosophy*, filled those years to overflowing. The teacher never spared himself and many days taught us until four-thirty and five in the afternoon, whenever the pupils desired to stay. My class numbered

about ten or twelve through the three years, three of whom were unusually bright girls, and three bright boys. The grading was very carefully done after each pupil had recited, and the grades of the first five were published in the town paper every six weeks. It was my good fortune always to be among that first five and usually to be the first. . . .

When I was about twelve years old, the librarian of the town circulating library went away on a protracted visit. I had literally haunted the library at the library hour, from four-thirty till five-thirty Tuesday and Thursday afternoons, and when the librarian asked me if I would take his place during his absence, I was delighted to do so, because it gave me the key to the library and the opportunity to use it at any hour. When the librarian returned, he did not desire to take up the work again, as there was no compensation, and so for nearly three years I was in charge of the town library. There was a very choice collection of books—biography, history, fiction, essays, poetry, and some scientific works—and it was possible to take home any number of books for reading. Three years in high school and in the library taught me how to think and stored my mind with the best of biography, history, fiction, and poetry and gave me a vocabulary and such knowledge of the best forms of expression that my teaching, preaching, public speaking, and writing have all been moulded for the better by these early years. Graduation from high school came in June, 1880. It was a happy but a sorrowful day when I received my diploma from my beloved teacher, Professor Thomas H. Williams. . . .

At the end of my high-school course intense application to my studies and reading late at night had left me in somewhat delicate health, so that a plan to go to college was held in abeyance for a year. That year, however, was very profitably employed. Definite work was arranged which would give me ample fresh air and exercise with real work, and yet would not be so inflexible or hidebound as to interfere with social, family, or church life. Immediately after prayers and breakfast, either on horseback or in a spring wagon or a cart, I went to the farm two miles away, carrying my lunch, and worked there until evening. I learned to do all kinds of work in season, plowing, harrowing, hoeing, digging potatoes and turnips, saving fodder, husking corn, binding wheat and oats, picking tomatoes, of which a very large crop was grown—any and all kinds of work was done. . . .

Only the most extraordinary circumstances, however, ever interfered with driving my mother one afternoon every week to visit the homes of the poor and destitute of our church and of no church. These missions of mercy never became simply a part of a weekly routine, but the as-

sociations with my mother and her poor friends were high spots in my life and made a deep impression upon me as a growing youth which has never been effaced. Clothing, shoes, provisions, even toys and candy, all carefully selected with a full knowledge of the needs to be supplied, were carried in bundles in the phaeton. When we drove up to the different houses, I followed my mother into the house carrying the bundles.

I have often said in later years that the scenes I witnessed in those homes taught me to despise the liquor traffic and to pledge myself to fight it in every way I could. I saw mothers gaunt and hollow-eyed, oftentimes weeping, sometimes in pain from the blows of drunken husbands. I saw little children hungry, half-clothed, clinging to their mother's skirts, and wondering, eager-eyed, what was in the bundle. Many a time I saw the father lying on the bed or on the floor in the corner, sometimes too drunk to know what was going on, but sometimes threatening and dangerous, so that I myself felt inclined to run out of the house. But my mother, while tender and gracious, was a very brave woman. I never saw her show any fright, much less would she allow a drunken man to run her out of a house. Moreover, very frequently, after she had left an exceedingly destitute home where she had gone through a distressing scene with a drunken husband or father, she would drive directly to the barroom where the man got his liquor; and, walking behind the swinging doors, she would face the barkeeper and plead with him not to sell any more liquor to the father of the hungry, miserable family which she had just left. In this way I got my first knowledge of saloons and saloonkeepers.

My mother's position in the community was such as to protect her from any violence, but the saloonkeepers, especially if they had been drinking, often lost control of themselves, cursed and swore and told her to get out of the saloon and tend to her own business, that they would sell liquor to whom they pleased; and I heard my mother tell these men who were hard and callous and would not yield to her pleading that she intended to work until by the help of God she had closed every saloon in town. As I saw these men scowling and swearing and denouncing my mother, I was hot with indignation and I pledged myself that I would join with her to put an end to the body- and soul-destroying traffic, the distressing results of which I continually witnessed. There were twelve flourishing saloons running full blast in the town and no organized effort to close them. The Woman's Christian Temperance Union was organized by Miss Frances E. Willard in the early seventies.⁶

6. The Woman's Christian Temperance Union was founded in 1874, the Anti-Saloon League not until 1895.

Five years later my mother organized a local union, but for several years was able to get only two other women of the town to join with her but she finally conquered. A strong union was developed, public sentiment was stirred, and before her death every saloon in Salisbury had been closed.

The place and influence of the church upon my life through these formative years cannot be too strongly emphasized. As I have indicated above, I went regularly to Sunday and week-night services. The church building was a neat, unpretentious structure, holding about two hundred and fifty people when it was crowded. The usual congregation, the regular attendants, numbered from a hundred to a hundred and fifty. We never had brilliant, unusual men as pastors, but plain, usually sensible, thoughtful preachers, as that term was then understood. From the time of my earliest recollection when I sat in the family pew by my mother's side and went to sleep with my head in her lap, until the day I went off to Randolph-Macon College, the teaching of the preachers, of my Sunday School teachers, and of my parents was consistent, uniform, and positive; and I never doubted its truthfulness then, nor have I ever doubted it since.

As a boy and as a youth I sat under the preaching of this simple, old-fashioned gospel of the love of God for lost, sinful men and women, boys and girls, and year after year I passed through the revival meetings of from two to four weeks conducted by our pastor, assisted sometimes by the presiding elder or by some other pastor, with exhortations and recitals of personal experiences by leading workers in the church, none of which were more appropriate and effective than those by my own father and mother. There was never any question as to the purpose of these meetings. Their purpose was to save the souls of the unsaved in the community, the sons and daughters and the friends of the church members and the rank sinners outside. Much of the strength of these meetings was their definiteness of aim. Are you sorry for your sins? Are you willing to give them up? Will you honestly pray for forgiveness and will you believe now that God does forgive you for Christ's sake? These meetings had only the one aim, to seek and to save the lost. For years I sat through these meetings, listening to the appeals to sinners, watching men and women, boys and girls, whom I knew intimately going forward to the altar, one after another, with solemn faces, often with tears, making public confession of sins and of the desire to be saved, hearing their testimonies of the power of the grace of God to forgive them and to change their hearts, seeing them join the church and many of them thereafter lead changed lives. Many times have I seen the faces of my

father and mother aglow with holy rapture as some man or woman, boy or girl, rose from the altar, rejoicing in forgiveness and the experience of divine Grace.

That was the old-fashioned gospel which I heard in my youth. I have read many criticisms in these latter days of the Methodist revivals of my young days. They have been declared to have been based upon excitement and emotion. Criticism has gone so far as to speak in derogatory terms of the outbursts of joy on the part of saved sinners and their happy friends. As I look back now, I cannot recall anything in any of the meetings which I attended in our own church or at the Virginia camp meetings which was not entirely in accordance with the Scriptures. The climax in the parable of the Prodigal Son is in the cry of the father, "This my son was dead and is alive again. He was lost and is found." If, as the Master says, there is joy in heaven over one sinner that repenteth, why should there not be joy expressed at the altar on earth where repentance is professed? If the mission of the church is to seek and to save the lost, the preaching and the methods used in my little home church, while accompanied with emotion, were neither fanatical nor hysterical. I can but wish that there were as much genuine soul hunger among our preachers and people today as there was in the church of my childhood.

But notwithstanding my love for my parents and my high regard for many members of our church, notwithstanding the sermons, the appeals, and the prayers made throughout the years, I never went to the altar and never made a profession of faith in Christ in the church of my childhood. There were two or three restraining influences. Although my time was largely filled with reading, studies, home life, yet I had naturally formed acquaintances with many boys in the town, some of whom were quite godless or gave very little attention to the church. They could not understand why I was so interested in church life because they could not appreciate how from my earliest childhood the activities of the church, the great share of my family in it, had been a central part of my everyday life. Strange to say, only two or three of my schoolmates had any fondness for studies, and not one of them ever became prominent in after life. While no one of them ever had what could be called a dominating influence upon me, they did leave a stain upon my mind and memory by their bad language and dirty sex stories. Although nearly all of them smoked, some of them drank, and most of them swore and indulged in other vices, I did not join in any of these evil practices. Such things did not have any real appeal to me, and they were so utterly contrary to everything in my home life that they repelled rather than attracted me.

Nevertheless, these boys sitting on the back benches at the revival meetings were a very decided temporary, though not a lasting, influence.

But that which affected most deeply my thinking and conduct was the conviction that if I ever made a profession of religion and joined the church, I would certainly become a Methodist preacher, and that I did not want to be. Nearly all the church members told me repeatedly that I ought to be a preacher, and our pastors and the visiting preachers would pat me on the head and tell me how happy I would make my father and mother if I would decide to be a preacher. My father and mother very wisely never said anything of that kind to me, but I knew that they were praying for me constantly for that result.

All this was contrary to my thinking. I wanted to be a lawyer, and I had as my highest ambition a seat on the Supreme Bench of the United States. When the circuit court was in session in Salisbury, I was there every minute that I could spare. I knew by name all the lawyers who practiced in the court from my own and the near-by counties. I listened to their arguments and to the questions and the opinions of the three judges of the court, and I learned to discriminate very carefully between bombast and real argument. I read the general principles of law and was quite critical of unsound argument, either in others or in myself. I was not able even at that early age to make any statements, arguments, or speeches of any kind which were not based on fact and which could not be logically defended. While I had a genuine love for the church, a great interest, even pride, in its success, while I put the Bible as the first of all books and had memorized many great passages, yet I could not make up my mind to put my life wholly at the command of the Lord Jesus Christ and obey the call, "Lord, what wilt thou have me to do?" . . .

While my mother and father usually knew where I was, they very wisely let me have a key to the back door so that I could come and go at night without being called upon to give an account as to places or as to hours. This freedom resulted in my actually coming home nearly always by ten or ten-thirty at the latest, after which I usually studied until midnight, and the next morning told the family at the breakfast table where I had been the night before. I had a bedroom alone from the time of my trundle-bed days, but the family all slept in bedrooms with doors opening on a large central upstairs hall. There were few nights, no matter at what hour I came up to my room, that my mother did not slip in, put her hand on my head in the dark, and kiss me goodnight.

My bedroom opened on the side street, and right on the other side was the hotel of the town, which was owned and run by a very intelli-

gent Irish Roman Catholic. During the early years of my childhood the relations between the two families across the street from each other were very friendly. We bought our ice from the hotel and kept our meats and milk in the big hotel icebox. My sister took music lessons from Miss Kate, and Jimmy Tracy and I were playmates until he was sent away by order of the Catholic priest to a Jesuit school in Philadelphia.

But the hotel had a barroom which became more and more a very important business of the hotel, producing the greater part of the revenue. This barroom was on the first floor of the hotel. It was one of the most private and exclusive saloons in the town and was patronized by many men who slipped in at the front door of the hotel, ostensibly for other business, and found their way to the barroom at the rear. From my bedroom window I could look directly into the barroom and see the bar, the people standing around it, and in summer could hear the talk, which was often loud and boisterous; and occasionally, although the proprietor exercised unusual care, there were altercations accompanied by bad language with oaths, sometimes ending in a drunken fight. The proprietor did endeavor very earnestly to keep a quiet, orderly saloon; but, as is always the case, men crazed with alcohol would sometimes get beyond all control, so that through all the years of my childhood and youth I was in sight and sound of a retail liquor saloon and its inevitable accompaniments. What I saw and heard increased my disgust and hatred of the traffic.

When I was about nine years old, an incident occurred which left an indelible impression upon my memory. My uncle, Josiah Cannon, was a very pleasant, agreeable man and very popular. He was fond of hunting and of good dogs, but my father and mother did not care to have dogs around the house, and so the hunting dogs were kept in the back yard of the hotel and in the hotel livery stable. One day my uncle Josiah was playing with two or three of his dogs, exercising them, having them to run backwards and forward and to catch and to carry on the side street, with his chair just outside the store door which opened on the side street directly opposite the barroom door.

While my uncle's dogs were running up and down, a man in the barroom, much the worse for liquor, let loose a large, fierce dog which ran out of the barroom across the street and attacked one of my uncle's dogs. In his effort to protect his own dog from the very large, fierce one, my uncle was bitten on the arm quite severely. The wound was not properly cauterized or treated. After a few days blood poison set in, from which my beloved uncle died. Although his mind wandered most of the time and he was delirious, yet he called repeatedly for the children

of the family, to whom he was very devoted, and we were in his bedroom and at his bedside most of the time. So when only nine years old, I witnessed the death of one whom I greatly loved.

I have never forgotten the appearance of that room, the location of every piece of furniture, the grouping of the family, and the young lady to whom my uncle was engaged to be married. It was a distressing, indeed an agonizing, time for all the family; but the quiet, soothing words of my mother and the earnest prayers of my father were a wonderful revelation of the strength and comfort which come to those who have faith in God and hope for eternal life. Knowing that the hotel barroom was the underlying cause of my dear uncle's death, I have always charged that up as a debit in the balance sheet with the saloon.

Owing to the division shortly after the war, neither of the two [Methodist] Churches was as strong numerically or financially as some of the other churches, yet Methodism was the strongest denomination in the community.⁷ While both churches grew, they had practically no religious life together. If there was no preaching in our church, our people never thought of going to the Northern Methodist Church. They usually went to the Presbyterian Church, sometimes to the Methodist Protestant Church, and some few like myself went occasionally to the Episcopal Church. I am inclined to believe that as a boy I doubted whether many Northern Methodists would go to heaven. I remember with what a start of surprise I saw some Northern Methodists at our church at my uncle Josiah's funeral. And yet, with the exception of that one local church in Salisbury, there was practically no sectarian or denominational narrowness in our family or in my personal thinking. . . .

My father did not have a large library. He bought a good book every now and then. I remember his buying *Hudson's Methodist Armor* and telling me that it was a good book to read and study and might be a good reference book for me some day. But he did not subscribe to our church papers, the *Richmond Advocate*, the *Nashville Advocate*, the *Quarterly Review*, [or] the *Youth's Companion*, and whatever other publications our house at Nashville furnished for the Sunday School lesson. He would not take the Philadelphia papers because they were all Republican. He did not want to take the *Baltimore Sun* because its owners were outstanding Roman Catholics, but while it gave great prominence to Roman Catholic activities and ceremonies, it was intensely Democratic, and so it was the *Baltimore Sun* that I came to read daily. It was then and has always been reliable as to its news, except where it was blinded

7. "Correct this" is noted in the margin of the manuscript at this point.

by prejudice. Occasionally I would see a copy of a Philadelphia paper, which would give me a chance to check up a little on the Republican viewpoint, but to my young mind the viewpoint was wrong almost of necessity. . . .

The speaker who most strongly impressed me before I went off to college was Bishop John C. Keener, who had come to dedicate a very beautiful, small, frame church which had been built on the site of our old church.⁸ He was the most awesome personality who had ever been entertained in my father's home. . . .

Those sermons preached at the dedication services caused me to compare the speeches of the best lawyers I had ever heard at the courthouse with the sermons of a great preacher to whom the pulpit was indeed his throne. I was obliged to admit that the preacher far surpassed the best of the lawyers in eloquence, thought, and power.

While I had always respected our pastors, for they were lovable men of high character, yet none of them had appealed very strongly to my intellect or stirred me very deeply. My father's talks and prayers made far more impression upon me than any preacher we ever had. Here, however, was a new type of preacher with a power of analysis and interpretation of the Scriptures, and with a force and eloquence in driving home his message, that made me yearn to stir men myself. The preaching of Bishop Keener, followed by some experiences shortly afterward, produced a great impression upon my thinking.

My health having been restored, my father and mother told me quite solemnly and tearfully that they thought the time had come for me to go to college, and that they expected to send me the next fall. I knew how they both felt. They had not wanted me to go to college until I had made a profession of religion and joined the church, but there had never been any doubt as to their plans concerning me. They did not think I should be either a merchant or a farmer but that I should have college training for whatever profession I might want to take. And so I was brought face to face with the second period of my life.

8. Bishop John C. Keener (1819-1907) was a Baltimore businessman (1835-1841), who entered the Methodist ministry in 1841. He served in Alabama and Louisiana (1841-1861), was Superintendent of the Confederate chaplains west of the Mississippi, 1861-1864, editor of the *New Orleans Christian Advocate* (1865-1870), and from then until his death bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South.

II. College Days

In this chapter the writer endeavors to give a picture of life and work in a small, distinctively denominational college and also in one of the largest colleges in the country, before the ambition for university status had beset the college world; also a representation of the kind of teaching in what was then, and is now, one of the most outstanding "orthodox" theological seminaries in the world.

Randolph-Macon

THERE HAD NEVER been any question as to what college I was to attend. . . . The young preachers who had been sent to our church had all attended Randolph-Macon College.¹ My older brother, George Primrose Cannon, had attended Randolph-Macon the session of 1872-1873 and was distressed when financial conditions, coupled with ill health, had caused him to come home. My sister, Virginia Cannon, had been sent to Wesleyan Female Institute, Staunton, Virginia, which was then one of the leading schools for girls under the care of our Church. I had listened eagerly to their reports of their school days and asked many questions. Dr. W. W. Bennett, president of Randolph-Macon,² visited Salisbury in the summer of 1880 and was a guest in our home and preached on Sunday morning. His dignity and pulpit power impressed me, and social contact with him in the home removed all thought of fear and made me

1. On February 3, 1830, the "Act to incorporate the 'Trustees of Randolph-Macon College'" passed both houses of the Virginia General Assembly. In 1833 the Reverend Stephen Olin accepted the first presidency and the professorship of Moral Science. The Reverend Martin Parks, professor of mathematics, had acted as president from the college's opening session in October, 1832, and continued until Olin took over in 1834. According to its historian, it is "the oldest incorporated Methodist College in America now in existence." It was not until 1868 that it moved from Boydton to Ashland, Virginia (Richard Irby, *History of Randolph-Macon College, Virginia*, Richmond: Whittell & Shepperson, 18—, pp. 3, 14-15, 34-35, 174-175).

2. Dr. William Wallace Bennett (1821-1887) entered the Virginia Conference in approximately 1842. He served as chaplain in the Confederate Army. He went abroad and was successful in bringing large numbers of Bibles through the Union naval blockade. He became editor of the *Richmond Christian Advocate* in 1866 and served in this capacity until 1877, when he was elected president of Randolph-Macon College. He resigned because of ill health in 1886 (Irby, *History of Randolph-Macon*, pp. 203, 265, 295 ff.).

feel that I was going where I would be pleasantly acquainted with the president of the college.

The next summer, that of 1881, my father and mother drove to the Turlington camp meeting grounds in Accomac County, taking me with them. There we stayed for ten days at an old time Methodist camp meeting and made many acquaintances. I was given a bed, or rather a place to sleep, in the preachers' tent, and there I met all the preachers and also Professor William W. Smith, who was making a tour in the interest of Randolph-Macon College. He was a very able public speaker, very attractive in conversation; and in his private, personal talks with me in the preachers' tent he made the college life seem very interesting.

And just here I think it worth while to record my recollections of the camp meeting as I saw it nearly sixty years ago. The Turlington camp was situated in nearly the central part of the county of Accomac in an intelligent, prosperous community. The people made their living by trucking, fishing, and oystering. While they were essentially a church-going people, there were very many sinners to be saved, and the yearly camp meeting had been found to be not only a means of grace to the church members but a harvest time for sinners young and old. All the leading families for miles around had tents and carried their beds, cooking utensils, food, and servants to the camp. There were two or three large boarding tents, where good meals and a clean mattress on hard boards could be gotten at a moderate price.

The camp was usually held in August after all the crops had been laid by. The preaching tent was seated with rough boards without backs and held an incalculable number of people. The camp began usually on Friday and lasted ten days. The presiding elder of the district had charge of the preaching services and brought to the camp the ablest preachers of the Conference whom he could secure. There was preaching morning and night, with afternoon meetings of various kinds, but the main preaching was at night and three times on Sunday. The substance of the preaching was the same as I have indicated we had in our home church. There was somewhat more pressure brought to bear upon the church members to bestir themselves to hunt out the sinners, and stronger, more impassioned appeals to the sinners to forsake their sins and turn to God. As the meeting progressed, fathers and mothers rose from their seats and went out in search of their children, sometimes even as far as buggies parked on the edge of the row of tents. It was the usual thing for penitents to come all the way forward to the mourner's bench at the front, where preachers and church workers talked and prayed with them, but many knelt with church workers at their seats.

As the meeting progressed the interest steadily increased. The atmosphere was laden with cries of penitents and prayers. That there was some excitement, I will not deny. Some mothers and fathers sometimes shouted praises to God at the conversion of their children. Sometimes there was a sweeping outburst of hallelujahs, followed by prayer and song, when some well-known sinner made profession of faith, but I never saw either at the Turlington or at the Marvin Grove camp ground anything not entirely warranted by the Scriptural idea of joy over the repentance and salvation of sinners. When we consider today how the whole nation is stirred by the kidnaping or loss of a child and the joy that is manifested when it is recovered, surely there should be far more distress over the moral ruin and sinfulness of our friends and children and far greater joy at their salvation than is shown generally by our present day Christians.

As I look back memory brings up vivid pictures, especially of those camp-meeting nights—the dimly lighted tabernacle with filled benches, with men standing in crowds around the edge of the tabernacle, with people seated in buggies and wagons in the row outside where the preacher's voice could be easily heard; with the singing which swelled from the pathetic to the triumphant; with the sermon argumentative, condemnatory, hortatory, gradually reaching its climax of clear, strong, sharp warning [and of] earnest, frequently pathetic, appeal, closing with the invitation, "Seek ye the Lord while He may be found. Call ye upon Him while He is near. Let the wicked forsake his way and the unrighteous man his thoughts and let him return unto God who will abundantly pardon"; frequent, fervent "Amens" accompanying the sermon; the preachers in the pulpit, the singers and the entire congregation joining in some familiar hymn like "Arise My Soul, Arise, Shake Off Thy Guilty Fears."

Yes, there was nothing dull in a Sunday night camp-meeting service. There was intense earnestness, a real, unconcealed effort to stir the emotions of the hearers to compel men to think of "righteousness, temperance, and judgment to come," to arouse fear at the consequences of open and hidden sins, and to picture the blessedness of forgiveness and peace with God after a full confession and renunciation of sin. There was all this, and doubtless men and women oftentimes did lose control of themselves, but not as much as the crowds do today at baseball and football games and at political rallies. The camp meetings of those days were a religious factor of great value, and we have nothing now to take their place and few occasions where there are manifestations of such moral spiritual power. . . .

At last the day came to leave my dear home, to travel by myself alone to a place two hundred miles away, and to live by myself apart from my father and mother, practically for the the rest of my life. I did not fully realize what the parting meant at that time, nor, do I think, did they; but I am sure they understood the situation far better than I did. . . .

I arrived at Ashland in the afternoon feeling very much alone and, as I got off the train, was greeted by a large group of students with shouts of "Fish, Fish," which was the salutation for all new students. The college porter spotted me, took my satchel on his shoulder, and led the way to the office of the registrar, Professor [William A.] Shepard, who was affectionately known by the students for forty years as "Old Shep." There, having paid my matriculation and tuition fees for the first term, I was assigned to a room alone in a very unattractive-looking eight-room cottage which was called "Maison Carrée". . . .

The rooms for students were in old buildings which had been transformed into dormitories. They were quite small, heated usually by a soft-coal fire in a grate or a boxwood stove. The largest building had been a bowling alley. The buildings were located one on each side of the flower garden, and were called "Old Dominion" and "Paradise Rows." "Maison Carrée" (the square house) had eight good-sized rooms. There was another building farther back behind the administration building containing about ten rooms which was called the infirmary, because there was a room in the building reserved for cases of sickness. There were two students in nearly all the rooms. The fine shade trees scattered all over the campus gave it a most attractive, restful appearance.

Not more than half the students roomed on the campus, the others boarding in private homes. Sanitary arrangements were very simple. Water was brought from the pump on the campus, either by the students themselves or by the colored men who cared for the rooms, for which service the students paid \$1.00 per month, but if a man had twelve or fifteen rooms he received ample to board and clothe himself. At least half of the students, however, cared for their own rooms. . . .

In 1881 the enrollment at the college was just about one hundred. There was little endowment and there had been left an indebtedness by the former administration of about \$30,000, which was a heavy millstone in those days. The president of the college was Dr. William Wallace Bennett, one of the most outstanding leaders of the Virginia Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. At the close of the war, he had been requested by the Conference to take over the responsibility of the *Richmond Christian Advocate*, which was burdened by debt, and to

run the *Advocate* at his own risk as his own private property. Believing that the *Advocate* was an essential factor in the welfare and growth of the Church, he had complied with the request of the Conference, and by careful, prudent management had made the *Advocate* a paying property, and had on his own motion assumed the responsibility for the payment of the old debt on the paper.

On the death of Dr. James A. Duncan, the president of Randolph-Macon College,³ Dr. Bennett had been elected president. He studied the situation very carefully before accepting, but having decided that the college was essential to the work of the church, he accepted for the second time a debt-burdened responsibility. He decided that the absolutely essential thing was to relieve the college of the debt, which was a blockade to any forward movement. Debt-raising at that time, especially for an educational institution, was a difficult task. It was a hand-picking process, and was accomplished only by steady, long-continued, wearing travel and undaunted, persistent solicitation of the individuals by the president in person. . . . Owing to the debt and the meager income, the trustees had been obliged to adopt the program of drastic salary reduction of president and professors insisted upon by President Bennett. Two of the leading professors accepted positions at the University of Virginia and one at Washington and Lee University, and young, but well-trained men had been elected to fill the vacancies.⁴

Next to the debt the greatest impediment to the growth of the college was that of unsatisfactory dormitories. It was impossible to secure any large sums of money at that time to erect modern, brick dormitories . . . , but Dr. Bennett did secure the funds to erect a row of five eight-room, plain but substantial cottages. These cottages were completed in time for the second year that I attended the college, and I was fortunate enough to secure the second-story, front corner room in the first cottage with southern exposure, facing the chapel and the flower garden. Two of the professors lived on the campus near the dormitories, so that little could be done out of doors without the knowledge of the faculty. The other professors lived within easy walking distance of the campus. . . .

3. The Reverend James A. Duncan (1830-1877) of the class of 1849 at Randolph-Macon was elected to the presidency of Randolph-Macon on August 7, 1868. He was the first president after the institution was moved from Boydton to Ashland. He resigned the presidency in 1875 because of ill health, but accepted re-election. He died September 24, 1877 (Irby, *History of Randolph-Macon*, pp. 186, 191).

4. According to Irby the salary scale in 1876 was changed from \$2,500 to \$2,000 for the president and from \$2,000 to \$1,600 for professors. They were provided with residences in addition to their salaries. Irby indicates that two of the professors, James A. Harrison, teacher of Latin and Greek, and Harry Estill, went to Washington and Lee, and that Thomas R. Price, professor of English, went to the University of Virginia (Irby, *History of Randolph-Macon*, pp. 241-243, 268).

The faculty was not large, but the professors were all well-trained men, deeply interested in their work and intensely loyal to their president and to each other. The small student body brought professors and students into unusually close relations. I think every professor could call all the students by name, not only in his classroom, but on the campus. Moreover, the student body, while small, was made up in the main of boys from homes where self-sacrifice was necessary to send the boy to college. Consequently most of the students were there for work and there was comparatively little dissipation or wild life. I have always thought that I could not have had finer training than in those early college days at Randolph-Macon. I needed and I appreciated the close touch which I had with those few high-grade men, and I always thought that the small number of students was my great gain.

As was the case in most of the Southern colleges at least, the science department was not very highly developed. There was not enough money to purchase anything but rather elementary equipment in that department, which was confined to chemistry and to natural philosophy, the most of which latter course I had at Salisbury. But while the work in the sciences was limited, the work in the other departments was of high grade. The courses in Latin, Greek, French, German, English, mathematics, logic, psychology, moral philosophy, and Biblical literature were taught by men who were thoroughly qualified in their subjects, and each of them with a personality of his own so distinctive as to have his own separate niche in the thoughts and feelings of the students.

The president was a man of unusually dignified appearance, who commanded the respect of the entire student body; indeed many of the younger students stood in great awe of him. As a preacher he was very thoughtful and impressive, and when thoroughly aroused he "swung clear" and preached with great effectiveness. In his classroom work he was kindly, interesting, and frequently quite humorous.

During the first weeks of my college days I received a message to come to the president's office. As some pranks had been engaged in, it was with some disquietude that I entered the office, but to my great relief Dr. Bennett took from his drawer a large sheet of paper which was ruled vertically and horizontally, giving spaces on the left hand for the hours from 6 A.M. until 10 P.M. for each day in the week. The president told me that nothing was of greater importance than to learn early in life to have a program for the use of my time. He did not insist that it should be so inflexible that it would hamper or curtail unexpected or unusual activity or enjoyment, but emphasized that nothing was of greater value than time, and nothing was worthy of more planning than

the use of time. He strongly commended the reading of John Wesley's *Journal*, as indicating how many and various things one man could do and what tremendous results would follow the consecration of talents to the accomplishment of a great aim. That thirty minutes' conversation had a great influence on my future life. Some time has been wasted, no doubt, in working out various and impossible programs, but the important thought was firmly imbedded that, if time was properly used, a great variety of things could be accomplished.

Randolph-Macon had adopted a modified form of the elective system of credits. While students were not allowed to follow every whim they might have, yet specialization was possible, and if there seemed to be reason for it, it was encouraged. In consultation with Professor Blackwell, who had the chair of English and Modern Languages, I worked out a course for the A.B. degree in three years and for the A.M. degree in four or five years, depending upon the number of extra courses taken not required for the degree. My preparation at Salisbury High School had been so thorough that I found no difficulty in carrying on any of the work. I specialized in Latin, English, and mathematics, with logic and psychology as a close second. I had no intention of taking Biblical literature, including systematic theology and church history, when I originally mapped out my course. They came into the program later.

It would probably not be true to say that there was no homesickness in the first days, but it did not reach the point of brooding or of idle, useless longing for home, although there were many very lonesome hours and days. I had learned to restrain and to repress any public exhibition of my feelings, and reckless or even random speech had never been characteristic of my home life.⁵ While naturally more interested in persons than in things and fond of good company, I was careful in my choice of associates and very careful indeed in making close friendships. The memory of two or three bad associates in my boyhood was a very decidedly restraining influence in my college days. I never stayed in a group where foul language or filthy stories were indulged in, and I thought that swearing and cursing were not only wicked but were utterly silly and vulgar.

My father paid all college fees and sent me \$25 monthly, out of which I paid only \$10 monthly for table board and had the rest for books and incidentals and to use as I pleased. While there were a few students who had a larger monthly check than I had, yet there were not many

5. This sentence, although factually correct, has been taken from Cannon's draft written in the third person, and has consequently been somewhat changed in order to read in the first person.

who were better able to do what they wanted to do. As a matter of fact, I began to save some money out of my allowance, after I had spent what was necessary to furnish my room comfortably. . . .

I joined the Washington Literary Society two weeks after entering college and was an active participant in all the work of the society during my college life. There were several sharp clashes between the fraternity and nonfraternity members of the Hall,⁶ and sometimes both sides violated the principles of fair play. Boys who were entirely worthy of official position in the Hall, or of selection to speak on public occasions or at commencement, were rejected purely on partisan grounds, and others elected who were not as worthy. While myself a fraternity man, I did not approve of such partisan conduct and frequently voted with the nonfraternity group.

My devotion to the interests of the Hall and my active participation in the literary programs of declamation, debates, and orations naturally gave me some prominence in the Hall life. Whenever I was appointed to declaim, to debate, or to deliver an oration, I never tried to beg off but I always said frankly that I enjoyed the work, that I was glad when my time came around. The society honored me by appointing me as one of the debaters at the annual public debate in 1883, when the question was discussed as to whether justice was more likely to be secured by a trial before a jury or before a bench of judges. My partner and I spoke in favor of the judges and won the debate. . . .⁷

One of the outstanding men in the Washington Hall life was Claude A. Swanson, afterwards governor of Virginia, United States congressman and senator from Virginia, and later Secretary of the Navy.⁸ Swanson roomed in Cottage No. 1, directly across from me, and we became very intimate friends. Swanson had been sent to Randolph-Macon by friends who hoped that he would become a Methodist preacher, but he became acquainted with the Honorable Richard F. Berne, the owner and editor of the Richmond *Evening State*, who lived in Ashland, and who became greatly interested in Swanson and stimulated his political aspirations. I talked with him about the matter several times and urged him to enter the ministry, for I believe that he could have rendered a great

6. Washington Literary Society.

7. Cannon won a number of medals for public speaking while at Randolph-Macon. He lost out in a contest for the Sutherlin medal for oratory to James A. Duncan, the son of the former president of the college. Cannon stated that this loss "had quite a salutary effect upon my thinking and upon my estimate of myself and my abilities."

8. Claude A. Swanson (1862-1939) graduated from Randolph-Macon in 1885, was governor of Virginia (1906-1910), was elected U. S. congressman in 1893, was re-elected until he resigned in 1905. He was appointed senator in 1910 and re-elected until 1933, when he resigned to become Secretary of the Navy in F. D. Roosevelt's cabinet.

service as a Methodist preacher. He always listened with interest, but the urge for the political life won the day.

A few weeks after the college opened, the Sigma Chi fraternity asked me to become a member of the Gamma Gamma chapter of that fraternity. The chapter was not large, having only eight men, all of whom at that time were of excellent standing in the college. Simple but appetizing suppers were had at the meetings, but no intoxicants were allowed in the fraternity room, and there was very little smoking. Two years later one or two of the new men did use intoxicants outside of the clubroom, and occasionally drank so much beer and sometimes other stronger liquors that they became intoxicated and were in danger of expulsion, as the college regulations were very strict on that subject.

While despising the liquor traffic, I have always tried to be patient with its victims, especially my friends, and I did what I could to help them when they were in trouble. Word was brought to me one night that one of our fraternity men was very drunk outside of one of the saloons in the town. Another clubmate and I went down and found him, and with great difficulty persuaded him to come without much noise to my room on the campus. Just as we reached the turnstile, a faculty meeting which had been in session at the president's house only a few yards away broke up. Two of the professors were coming down the sidewalk just across from the stile. It was hard to decide what to do, but quickly, in desperation, the drunken classmate was raised to sit on the stile, and my sober classmate and I engaged in animated conversation. The professors went by only fifteen feet away. We bowed and saluted. The professors returned the salutation and walked on. The classmate was carried to the bedroom in triumph, but informed the next morning that if he ever did anything like that again he would be doused in the water tank instead of being put to bed.

On several occasions I was sent for to come to the room of a fraternity mate or classmate who was gloriously drunk and beyond control. While not large or of athletic build, I was quick and active in all my movements for the work on the farm had toughened my muscles. In a college community the size of Randolph-Macon the boys soon learned to appraise each other. In a very short while it was well understood that while I was not a member of the church, yet I did not smoke, drink, gamble, swear, or tell dirty stories. Because I was always one of the best-dressed men on the campus, allowed nothing to interfere with thorough preparation of my classroom work, and never would run around at night to engage in horse play, . . . I was thought of at first as "stuck-up" and unsociable, and branded by some of the students as a "sissy." But before

long it was realized that I was really of a very sociable disposition, sympathetic with boys in trouble, spending money to help them if necessary, and while I would not engage in pranks which I thought were too rough and destructive of clothes, books, or other things, I was in college parlance "a good sport."

But that which won me the greatest respect, I think, was that under any and all conditions I had shown myself to be frank and fearless. Consequently, when a friend had gotten "gloriously" drunk and was beyond control of roommates or other friends, a message was usually sent to me to come to the rescue to help to suppress the uproar so as to prevent the noise from disturbing the professors in the near-by homes, causing the summoning of students to the president's office the next morning.

My entry into the room nearly always had a subduing effect upon the offender. If he was inclined, however, to be violent and refused to abate the uproar which he was making, with the help of others I usually got him flat on his back on the floor, and while others held his arms and legs, I sat on his stomach. If that was not effective, some emetic was poured down his throat, which speedily caused an eruption from his stomach of the sour beer or other intoxicants. When all the fight had been taken out of him, I usually held his head while he got rid of all the remnants of his debauch. Sometimes to secure more lasting penitence a heavy dose of castor oil was administered. . . .

These experiences of the effect of the liquor traffic upon my friends increased my hatred of it. It showed that liquor sellers, even as quiet and well behaved as those at Ashland, were more concerned about their profits than about anything else and that they made no special effort to prevent the students of the college securing intoxicants contrary to the law and to their best interests as students. . . .

It so happened that Dr. Bennett, the president of the college, and Professor W. W. Smith, professor of Greek and ethics, were both active opponents of the liquor traffic.⁹ Dr. Bennett issued a tract called *The Great Red Dragon*, which was one of the strongest, most sweeping indictments of the traffic in those earlier days. As joint editors, they issued a monthly paper called the *Southern Crusader*, which was distributed at nominal cost all over the state of Virginia. In order to save expense, the *Crusader* was folded, wrapped, and addressed by Dr. Bennett's daughters, one or two other young ladies, and four or five students, of

9. Professor W. W. Smith was "elected to have charge of Latin and Greek" in 1882 and succeeded Bennett to the presidency of Randolph-Macon in 1886 (Irby, *History of Randolph-Macon*, p. 278).

whom I was one. The *Crusader* was very ably edited, packed full of information concerning the damnable effects of the traffic, and with pungent articles to stir the people of the state. The paper was continued throughout my college days and kept me fully abreast of the best prohibition thought and activity of the time.

As a result of the sentiment created in Virginia by the *Crusader* and other agencies, a great petition was secured and brought in 1885 to the General Assembly of Virginia demanding the passage of a local-option law granting to town, city, and country districts the right to vote upon the licensing of the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquor.¹⁰ The legislature granted the petition, and the local-option law was passed. Thus, as a young student throughout my college days, I felt myself as, in a sense, part of the firing line, not expecting that I would ever be called upon to active leadership against the traffic twenty years later.

Dr. Bennett, as one of the recognized leaders of Southern Methodism, had been sent as a delegate to the first Ecumenical Conference of worldwide Methodism, which was held in London in September, 1881. He took with him to Europe his wife and two oldest daughters, and visited some of the countries on the continent before the Ecumenical Conference met. Owing to his absence in Europe, he was not present at the opening of the college session in September, 1881, when I entered college. He returned home about October 1 and was met at the train by the faculty, their families, and almost the entire student body. It was not a very common thing to go to Europe in those days, even for a college president.

The railroad station was not more than two or three hundred feet from the college turnstile. The train was a few minutes ahead of time, and when I reached the turnstile, Dr. Bennett, his wife, and two daughters were coming across the railroad track, going to the president's house, which was not more than forty or fifty yards from the turnstile. It was a somewhat drizzly day and I had on my black rubber raincoat and a black rubber hat. I seated myself on the turnstile where I could have a close view of everybody who went along to the president's house. I had seen Dr. Bennett before but not the ladies of the family.

As I was looking with some interest at what was going on, my eye was suddenly arrested by a very attractive young lady walking behind Dr. Bennett. Turning to shake hands, she smiled and laughed very happily at remarks which had come to her from friends in the crowds

10. House Bill 98 "to provide for the submitting the question of liquor license to the qualified voters of the several counties, corporations and magisterial districts of the State" was passed Feb. 25, 1886 (*House, Journal and Documents, Virginia, 1885-1886*, pp. 488-490, 494).

in front and following. Just as she got opposite the turnstile, her eye caught the odd-looking figure seated upon it with raincoat dragging around his dangling legs and the ugly, ridiculous hat on his head. Her face expanded in a broad smile, but before she ceased to look at the student, their eyes caught each other in a steady gaze. The family passed on to the president's house. I watched them until the figure of the girl was no longer in sight, and then, turning, I walked slowly to my room. Closing the door, I sat down in a chair, and after a few minutes I said aloud to myself, "That is the girl I am going to marry." From that hour there was never any other thought, and although many hurdles had to be surmounted before the marriage of the seventeen-year-old young people was finally consummated, it did take place about seven years later on August 1, 1888.

I had always enjoyed the society of girls. At home I went continuously with my sister's friends, all three or four years older than I was. I also went with a number of girls my own age, and had a number of successive sweethearts. At home, from time to time, I imagined myself to be deeply in love. Judging my girl friends by my mother and sister, I had always put them somewhat on a pedestal and had never indulged in any familiarities, either of speech or of conduct, as was the the custom with some young people. Although it is true that some of the games played by the young people when I was a boy included open kissing as the main objective of the game, I played those open, public games when girls I liked were playing; otherwise I did not, as there were some girls I had no desire to kiss. Whatever may have been my boyhood faults, I was never conceited as to my looks, nor did I ever think of myself as a lady-killer. As a matter of fact, however, I was very popular with the limited circle of girls in my school classes, and I associated with very few others except my cousins at Pocomoke and in Delaware.

But now I realized that I was in for an entirely different experience from anything heretofore, and I was shy and uncertain as to what course to pursue. As has been stated, I had a voice of somewhat more than average sweetness and strength, and was soon asked by Professor and Mrs. Shepard, the leaders of the singing at the chapel services, to join the choir. That opened the way, for both Misses Mary Lee and Lura Virginia Bennett were members of the choir, and I was introduced to them at choir practice. Miss Mary Lee Bennett sang alto and Miss Lura sang soprano. As I sang somewhat a mixture of baritone and tenor, I soon managed to line up on the soprano side, and frequently not only sang next to Miss Lura but sometimes sang out of the same book. I

found that the young lady, while not yet eighteen years of age, had been exceedingly popular with the students for the past two or three years, and that she had several open admirers. It so happened that two or three of these admirers were members of my own Sigma Chi fraternity, of which fraternity Richard H. Bennett, the oldest Bennett son, was also a member. The first regular call was made in company with one of the other Sigma Chi admirers and was so enjoyable that it was protracted beyond all proper lengths. From that time we saw each other with increasing frequency, and before the college year was over, both had begun to realize that each was becoming an important factor in the life of the other. . . .

Lura Bennett combined in an unusual manner the best qualities of both her father and mother. . . . Already at seventeen years she had a clear Christian experience to which she referred very helpfully from time to time at the Sunday afternoon class meetings in the college chapel. She taught a class of boys in the Sunday School and made very effective public prayers when called upon to do so. Her faith in God was already almost a necessary part of her thinking. She had accepted Jesus Christ as her Saviour from sin and as the Lord and Master of her life. Nothing ever interfered with that loyalty from her girlhood to the day of her death. None who knew her well ever thought of her doing anything which she did not think to be right. For forty-six years, from the time I first saw her from the college turnstile, she was the most potent human influence in my life. And as it is said of Abel, she "being dead yet speaketh." Like my father and mother, she stands out as one of the greatest personalities in my life, a never-dying influence through time and eternity. . . .

When I entered Randolph-Macon College, it was with the distinct purpose to train myself for law, and my ambition [was] not to be simply a trial lawyer, but to reach the bench at as early a date as possible, with the hope of ultimately being appointed a justice of the Supreme Court of the United States. It was one of my greatest pleasures to read great speeches delivered in the courts and outstanding opinions from the bench. I specialized in Latin and English to secure a more comprehensive vocabulary and a more discriminating use of words. . . .

At the end of my second year I was elected editor of the *Randolph-Macon Monthly*, which post I held for the last two years of my college life. When I was elected editor and business manager the *Monthly* was several hundred dollars in debt, and it seemed that it would be impossible for it to continue. . . . After a thorough study of the possible revenues of the paper, I agreed with the printers that if they would agree to print

the paper, I would make monthly settlements and would pledge myself to put forth special effort to raise the outstanding deficit, although none could be held responsible for that except the publisher of the previous year, who had left college and the state. This contract was carried out and the *Monthly* was successfully operated until June, 1885. The back debt was paid according to promise out of surplus from the operations of the two years and by money raised by special entertainments of various kinds given in the college chapel. While it was not my expectation to make any money out of the *Monthly*, yet by active canvassing for advertising and collection of subscriptions I did get a fair sum in addition to fine training for my two years' labor. In 1884-1885 the executive committee of the *Monthly* offered a prize of fifty dollars for the five best articles published by any one contributor in the *Monthly*, the prize to be awarded by a committee of the faculty. I was glad to have the prize awarded to me because just about that time I was having some unusual expense. . . .

I obtained my A.B. degree at the commencement of 1884, but continued over for another year to do work on the Master's degree and to take some courses in Greek and Biblical literature. And this indicates what had happened to me during my college life. In the winter of 1882 a series of revival meetings was held in the college chapel, the preaching and the exhortation being done by Dr. John Hannon.¹¹ Dr. Hannon was the most unusual personality who had appeared in the Virginia Conference since the war. He was an Alabamian by birth and had come to Randolph-Macon for his training and had remained as a preacher in the Virginia Conference. He was transparently honest. No one, probably, ever doubted his sincerity. As a preacher he had no model. No one has ever preached like him before or since. His sermons were replete with unusual figures of speech, with anecdotes, and with imaginary dialogues which were the product of the brilliant Hannon mind. He was a man of extraordinary, childlike faith and of great spirituality, but he had a rare vein of humor that broke out at the most unexpected times. He always prayed with his eyes open.

I was working very hard and did not think I would take the time to go to the meetings, but I finally decided that I would go to the

11. The Reverend John Hannon (1845-1921) was born in Montgomery, Alabama, but lived in Virginia most of his life. A prominent preacher throughout the South, he was noted also for humorous lectures given to raise money for struggling churches (*Virginia Conference Annual* . . . , vol. 131, 1921, pp. 91-92; see also *John Hannon: preacher, essayist, wit, humorist, Christian. Being the recollections, sermons, sketches, sayings of forty-seven years in the itinerant ministry of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South*. Edited by Mrs. John Hannon . . . and Rev. D. G. C. Butts . . . , Richmond, Va., 1924).

first one to hear what this man with this unusual reputation would say. After the first night I went to hear every sermon. I was profoundly impressed. The truth was presented in such an unusual fashion as to stir me to the depths. In those days even at the college the Methodist altar was still used. On the fourth night when Dr. Hannon preached on Abraham's faith and delivered a remarkable dialogue between the Lord and Abraham, I decided that I must settle the question of my eternal relation to God and whether I would accept Jesus Christ as my Divine Saviour and Master. I went to the altar of prayer along with many other students. Professor Blackwell, who was my Sunday School teacher, came to the altar and talked with me, but the way was not clear. The next night I went again to the altar. Miss Lura Bennett, who had been working regularly at the altar, came and talked and prayed with me. Her simple, complete trust in Jesus Christ as her Saviour, her direct method of approach to God as her Heavenly Father, shed a flood of light. I reached my decision and accepted Jesus Christ as my Saviour, Master, and Lord. The following Sunday I joined the church, telegraphing the fact briefly to my father and mother. The message, which my parents told me was received with more joy than anything that had ever come into their lives, was read at the church service on the Sunday morning I joined the church. That service of my local home church was turned into one of praise and thanksgiving, as the entire membership was happy that the son of their loved leaders had decided to become a Methodist preacher. The message was: "Have accepted Jesus Christ as my Saviour, Lord, and Master. Will join church here Sunday morning. Probably ask for license to preach at next Quarterly Conference."

I fully realized what the decision would mean for my life. That realization had kept me from reaching a decision at my home church in Salisbury. I knew that, if I ever made a profession of faith, I would have to give up my ambition to be a lawyer and a judge, and that I would certainly become a Methodist preacher. It happened just that way. I joined the church and at the next Quarterly Conference applied for a license to preach and was duly licensed in April, 1882. . . . I was elected by the same Quarterly Conference to be a student steward, and it was at once recognized throughout the college that there had been a definite change in my life purpose.

While I was satisfied that I would carry out my purpose and become a Methodist preacher, I was unwilling to bind myself except for the local ministry. The ministerial students at the college paid no tuition fees, and it would have been a saving of seventy-five dollars yearly for tuition had I declared myself to be a ministerial student. But I decided not to

take advantage of that exemption, and my father paid full tuition during my four years at college. As I did not join the band of young ministerial students who preached in the country round about the college, and as I paid tuition, there was doubt in the minds of some as to whether I really had decided to make the ministry my life work. Furthermore, while I was a boy and a man of very strong emotions, yet I had early learned from my father to exercise control over myself, and although my language might have been expressive of strong convictions and feelings, yet I rarely lost control of my voice or my facial expression. At the weekly Sunday afternoon class meetings my testimony, when it was given, was clear and positive, usually somewhat reflective and meditative, never ending in a hallelujah or a shout, either on my part or on the part of others, as was the case in the testimony of some of the more demonstrative class members. I did not form many close friendships among the "Bib Lits," as the students for the ministry were called, and I know that most of them thought me to be too cold to make an effective Methodist preacher.

The decision to study for the ministry considerably affected my course of study. I took up the study of Greek, which I had never had before and in which I never became as proficient as in Latin. I then decided to take an additional year after securing my A.B. degree in order that I might take the full course in Biblical literature and church history given by the president, Dr. Bennett. This brought me into close contact with the man whom I admired and respected more than any other member of the faculty.

Dr. Bennett reminded me somewhat of my father. He was an Israelite, indeed, in whom there was no guile. His reserve manifested in his public contacts was entirely absent with his students in the classroom. He had a strong, well-trained mind, fine command of English, and a good sense of humor. He was thoroughly grounded in Methodist theology and history, and fairly so in general church history. I applied myself to the mastery of Wakefield's *Theology*, the textbook used, reading all the lives of John Wesley, John Calvin, Luther, and other great Protestant leaders which the library contained. While I naturally leaned toward the Methodist theological beliefs of my father and mother and of my teacher, Dr. Bennett, yet I tried to balance fairly and impartially the doctrines of Calvinism and of Unitarianism against those of Wesleyanism or Arminianism. I became a great admirer of John Wesley's theology as containing all the essentials of Bible teaching and as eliminating the theories and speculations and theologians not supported by or contrary to the Word of God. I thought then and think now that Butler's *Anal-*

ogy was the greatest book I ever studied, and it was of more value to me than the entire course of logic.

There was developed in all those studies a demand, indeed almost a passion, for intellectual sincerity which has been a tremendous factor in my writing, thinking, and conduct throughout my life. Unless I could convince myself that a position was right, that it satisfied the demands of my mental processes for accuracy and truth, no matter how great pressure there might be of a personal nature on the other side, I could never speak nor argue for it. I have occasionally remained quiet in the discussion of a matter where my friends were involved and where they were on the side which I did not approve, but I thoroughly agreed with St. Paul "that every man be thoroughly persuaded in his own mind." It was the strength of my personal conviction of right and truth in positions which I took in print or in public speaking which gave me whatever strength and effectiveness I had in private and public discussion and argument. I had three years more of theological training at Princeton, but the last year at Randolph-Macon, with its close personal contacts with Dr. Bennett in a small class, gave me a solid doctrinal foundation upon which to build in later years.

During my third year at college the reading of a large amount of German parallel developed a latent astigmatism of the eyes which effectually blocked my entire class work. Oculists were very rare in those days, but Dr. Joseph A. White, a native of Baltimore, with thorough training in Baltimore and France, had just opened his office in Richmond. He speedily diagnosed my trouble and prescribed the necessary glasses and stated, with a positiveness which was characteristic of him, that I would have to wear spectacles the rest of my life. . . . Dr. White was a Roman Catholic, born and bred in the strong Roman Catholic atmosphere of Baltimore. Moreover, he was distinctly a society man, a member of clubs, and enjoyed dancing, fox hunting, and kindred sports. But he had a directness of speech and a transparent sincerity which appealed to me very greatly; and a friendship was formed which continued throughout the years, Dr. White treating my own family and scores of college students whom I brought to him from Blackstone College. We never discussed Roman Catholicism or Protestantism or the liquor traffic or other subjects on which we had decided differences of opinion. Each fully understood the other's position and there was never any breach of the friendship begun in 1883, even during the campaign for prohibition in Virginia in 1914 or the Anti-Smith campaign in 1928. Dr. White was a very fine type of Roman Catholic . . . and I am distinctly the better for the care which he gave to my eyesight through many years.

During my Randolph-Macon college days the great Moody and Sankey meeting was held in Richmond.¹² There was much debate, indeed considerable sharp discussion, as to whether an invitation should be extended to these "Yankee evangelists" to hold a meeting in Richmond. There was much opposition among certain classes of society, and even some of those who did not doubt the sincerity of the evangelists were uncertain as to the wisdom of inviting them to carry on a meeting in Richmond. Finally the matter was settled, the pastors of the leading denominations united in support of the meetings, and the armory, the largest building in the city, was secured and filled, many attending the meetings ready, if not eager, to find occasion for criticism. But however it may have been with others, I was won at the first meeting.

I have not been able to think of Dwight L. Moody from the time I heard him in Richmond till his death except as a man sent by God to teach and to preach in plain, simple language the message of salvation from sin and saving faith in the atoning blood of Jesus Christ. His manner and method were a distinct revelation and produced a profound impression upon me. There was an utter absence of any attempt at elocution or oratory. From the time he began to speak until he closed, he was the embodiment of earnestness, but his style was what I should call distinctly conversational. His strength lay in his ability to expound and apply the Scripture to the hearts of his hearers. He had an amazing power of homely illustration, telling incidents out of his own experience, tying up his thoughts convincingly with some Scripture text. His appeals for decision to lead the Christian life, while never overwrought, were delivered with an earnestness of conviction which compelled men and women to face their own personal responsibility. There was no attempt at fine speech, no building up a rhetorical climax, but a reading of the Scripture to be expounded, followed by a bringing out of the truth contained therein in simple, plain fashion, with such earnestness of manner and evident personal conviction of the truth of his message that he produced a more profound impression upon the great mass of his hearers than the most finished, polished pulpit orators of the day.

My whole idea of preaching was affected by the preaching of Mr. Moody, not only in the Richmond meeting, but in many other meetings which I attended whenever he was near enough and I could get the

12. D. L. Moody opened a series of religious meetings in Richmond on Jan. 4, 1885. Apparently there had been some anti-Moody feeling in Richmond prior to these meetings because of some remarks that he was supposed to have made about Robert E. Lee and Stonewall Jackson. At the first meeting, however, Moody praised the two Confederate soldiers. All meetings were well attended, and finally "admission had to be by ticket" (W. Asbury Christian, *Richmond, Her Past and Present*, Richmond, 1912, p. 389).

time. I have heard him speak on the same platform at Northfield with outstanding church leaders whom he had brought there, and no matter who they were, his talk was always the high spot of the occasion. . . .

In the spring of 1885 the unexpected happened and changed entirely the course of my future student life. . . . In 1884 the Solid South and sufficient Northern states voted for the election of Grover Cleveland, the first Democratic president to be elected since 1856. He was inaugurated in March, 1885. The Southern people were all astir, greatly delighted and excited over the Democratic victory, and along with Democrats from all over the country the South poured into Washington to celebrate their victory.

My father, an ardent Democrat all his life and a sympathizer with the South all through the war, took the entire family to Washington and hired a window on Pennsylvania Avenue to see the procession go backward and forward from the White House to the Capitol. I went up from Randolph-Macon to meet them and enjoyed to the full my participation in the political celebration. Rain fell steadily the greater part of the day, increasing toward nightfall, until, when the time came for the great display of fireworks in the lot in front of the White House, water was standing two or three inches deep everywhere and over my shoe tops in some places. Filled with enthusiasm, however, I very thoughtlessly stood in the water for at least two hours. When I returned to college the next day, I had a severe attack of congestion of the lungs which left me with a severe, racking cough, confining me to bed for several weeks. My improvement was very slow, and it seemed as though the cold had settled firmly upon my lungs. It was with great difficulty that I was able to attend lectures sufficiently to secure passing grades in my work. Only my previous fine record and the work I had done during the first term enabled me to do so.

I consulted Dr. Hunter McGuire, the celebrated surgeon of Stonewall Jackson during the war and the outstanding personality in Richmond medical life. With his customary frankness Dr. McGuire told me that I had incipient tuberculosis (or consumption as he called it then), and that my only hope to get well was to go to some climate like Asheville, North Carolina, to secure board in a house where I could sleep out on the porch in the open air, have rich, nourishing food, and walk as much as possible. He said it would require several months or a year to get back to anything like normal, and I realized that he did not think that I would recover my health at all. But I had inherited an optimistic disposition from my mother, and while anxious to get Dr. McGuire's

advice and willing to follow it, yet I did not agree that he was a good prophet. . . .

Immediately upon the close of college [in 1885], without going home, I went to Asheville, North Carolina, where my mother and my sister Virginia had already preceded me. My sister had been caught in a severe thunderstorm with heavy rain in Druid Hill Park, Baltimore, and was so thoroughly chilled before she could get the proper change of clothing that she contracted, like myself, a very severe cold. Not anticipating anything serious, she was married a few days later to Mr. Isaac Jackson. Shortly afterward she developed a distinct case of tuberculosis. She had been taking treatments of various kinds and now decided to go to Asheville for the climate.¹³

I was determined that I would get well. I arrived at Asheville in such a feeble condition that I had to be carried from the train to the hack which took me to the house where my sister was already located. But, following Dr. McGuire's instructions, I insisted on walking on the porch for about fifty feet the first day. The second day I doubled it, and so added feet and then yards until I was walking from a quarter to a half a mile a day. I ate just as much nourishing food as my stomach would digest. There were many ups and downs. Coughing spells tore up my rest at night, greatly weakening me and threatening to destroy all the gain which I had made. But I persisted, and gradually made short excursions into the surrounding country, sleeping out of doors as much as possible with my body warmly wrapped so that I should not be chilled by the night air. . . .

I remained in western North Carolina from the first of June until the last of September. Before I left I had gone to Mt. Pisgah, Brevard, and Caesar's Head, and I spent the last week of my stay in the Blowing Rock country, walking from Lenoir to the Blowing Rock Hotel, a distance I think of about twenty-one miles, with a good-sized pack on my back. As I look back on it now, I am really surprised that I persisted and won out. The first few weeks were so discouraging; the improvement was so slight and not apparent in my feelings; fatigue and weariness haunted my feeble, staggering footsteps; but I simply could not agree at any time that the work which I had done to prepare myself to be a Methodist preacher should be wasted. I felt certain that sooner or later I would get back my strength and do the work which I had planned to do. My experience in those days and at later times in my

13. Cannon's older brother George had earlier developed "a weakness of the throat and lungs" and had moved to Colorado.

life has convinced me of the tremendous power which the will has over health and disease, over life and death. . . .

Following out the advice of Dr. McGuire,¹⁴ I made a full investigation as to schools, and finally decided to attend Princeton Theological Seminary and to take courses in the university sufficient to complete the work for my master's degree. Owing to the condition of my health and the need for a continuance of good nourishing food, I arranged for board and a room alone with a private family at what was then the very high rate of thirty dollars per month (compared with ten dollars per month for good table board at Randolph-Macon). I had saved some money, and the seminary furnished a scholarship of one hundred and fifty dollars per year. But my father, always desiring me to have whatever was really necessary, wrote me that he would continue to send me twenty-five dollars per month, so that notwithstanding the high rate which I was to pay for room and board, I figured that I would be able to get through the year comfortably.

When I left Asheville in the latter part of September, I went by Richmond to see Dr. Hunter McGuire for a thorough physical examination. He was literally amazed at the great improvement in my condition, especially in my great increase in chest expansion, which had reached over five inches. He heartily approved of the Princeton plan. Of course, I went by Randolph-Macon to discuss my plans with Dr. Bennett, who agreed that Princeton was the best choice under all the circumstances, and upon my request he gave me a short list of books that he thought I might read to advantage along with the regular Calvinistic seminary course. Miss Lura rejoiced with me in the apparently complete recovery of my health, and it was agreed between us that there should be one long weekly letter to each other, which promise was delightfully kept during the three Princeton years.

My stay at home with my father and mother was all too short. I was nearly twenty-one years old. During my four years at Randolph-Macon, although there had been a breaking up of many associations, I had returned home every summer, had slipped easily into the home, social, and church life, taking charge of my mother's pet mare again and taking up whatever work I could do in connection with my father's business. The best part of two summers I had been in charge of the canning factories which my father had opened, one in Salisbury and one at the farther river farm. This work had brought me in contact with scores of workers, young and old, and had given me a very good

14. McGuire had advised Cannon not to enter either Boston University or Northwestern University because of an unfavorable climate.

cross-section of human nature at work on wages. My sense of justice and fair play impelled me to try to see both the employer's and the employees's standpoint. I discovered that small things often caused more friction than larger ones, and I was a very successful adjuster of disputes arising in the fields among the pickers of peas, tomatoes, and berries, and in the canning factories among those who prepared the fruits and vegetables for canning. . . . My father paid me a good salary in fair proportion to that paid others with equal responsibility, and the experience thus gained was a great value to me in carrying on my varied forms of work in later years.

Although constantly importuned to do so, I declined to preach or to lead any services in the Sunday School or church. Indeed, while I had definitely committed myself in my own mind to the life and work of a Methodist preacher since the time when I had joined the church at Randolph-Macon in February, 1882, I had never led any religious service or taken any prominent part in one, except to lead in prayer occasionally, to speak in class meetings, and to teach a Sunday School class in the college the last three years at Randolph-Macon. Temperamentally and by habit, it was difficult for me to discuss personal matters except with my close friends, and up to the close of my Randolph-Macon days I did little personal religious work except at the time of the Moody meeting in Richmond. . . .

Princeton

SEMINARY AND COLLEGE LIFE at Princeton was the beginning of a distinct epoch in my life. To leave home and go among strangers a second time was not in itself a matter of very much moment, but my four years of college life had been spent among Southern people and Methodist people. I was by study, conviction, and association a States' Rights Democrat. I firmly believed that the Dred Scott decision was in accordance with the Constitution of the United States, and was the only decision which the Supreme Court could have rendered and still maintained its intellectual integrity. Moreover, I was fully satisfied that but for the great folly of the Democratic party in splitting itself up into three parts and thus permitting the election of the Republican candidate, there never would have been any secession or any Civil War.

While I believed that every state had the right to secede from the Union, I thought it was a great mistake and very unwise for any to have done so. I believed with many of the outstanding Southern leaders, especially of Virginia, that the slaves should be freed in some method

to be found to compensate the owners. I had no sympathy or patience whatever with the hotheads of South Carolina who had fired on Fort Sumter and furnished the pretext for the calling of troops, which had precipitated the secession of Virginia, the surrender of his commission in the Federal Army by General Robert E. Lee, and an answering call for troops by the Confederacy to defend the Southern states from invasion. But like my father I believed in the righteousness of the Southern cause, and gloried in the courage of my [future] father-in-law, Dr. Bennett, in running the blockade to get Bibles for the Southern soldiers.

I had lived through my boyhood and youth in a border town where Southern Democrats were largely in the majority, although as far as Methodism was concerned, the Northern and Southern Methodist Churches [there] were nearly equal in strength. But these churches were almost like the Jews and the Samaritans, having little dealings with each other, and when the Southern Methodist Church was closed, our members rarely indeed went to the Northern Methodist Church, but to the Presbyterian, Methodist Protestant, or Episcopal Church. The sight of a Northern Methodist in our Southern Methodist Church was commented upon for many days. Moreover, when I went to college in Virginia, I lived among people dominated entirely by the Southern viewpoint, and the college life of four years was lived in a distinctively Southern Methodist atmosphere. I heard and I read little but Southern Methodist talk and teaching. Other churches existed in the newspapers and in books, but they were not practical factors in daily living. At the age of twenty-one I was distinctly a convinced Southern Democrat and an equally convinced Southern Methodist.

These conditions were greatly changed at Princeton. While Princeton College had always been a favorite Northern institution with Southern people and before the war had a large patronage from the South, and while there was still a kindly feeling toward the Southern people, the faculties of both the college and the seminary were almost entirely Northern men. In the seminary student body practically the only Southern men were some Northern Presbyterians from Kentucky, and there were more men from the Canadian Provinces than there were from South of Mason's and Dixon's line. All the seminary faculty but two were Republicans. Of these two, one was a British subject, and the other was a lone Democrat who was regarded with some curiosity. In the college there were more Southern students and a fair proportion of Democrats, but most of the faculty were Republicans. At the boarding house where I lived during my first year the family and all the other boarders were strong Republicans. It was difficult for them to accept

the Cleveland administration without frequent caustic criticism, which sometimes provoked positive dissent on my part and consequent expression of disagreement.

There was a Methodist church in the town but the membership was not large, and it was overshadowed by the college, the seminary, and two large Presbyterian churches. I attended the Methodist church sometimes at night and became fairly well acquainted with one or two of the leading families; but the pastors of the Methodist church were all Republicans who frequently illustrated their sermons with incidents from the war or from the life of Lincoln, forgetting absolutely, as I sometimes told them, to say anything about the Northern carpetbaggers and the Republican scalawags. . . .

The young Methodist from the South was in an entirely different atmosphere, both politically and theologically, but the change of scenes and the clash of opinions proved to be good for my steady development.

In physical equipment Princeton College and Princeton Seminary were both, even at that day, well at the top among the institutions of the country. Shortly after the war, Dr. James McCosh, an able, staunch, Scotch Presbyterian, had been called to the presidency of Princeton College.¹⁵ He was not only an able preacher and teacher, but also a very able administrator, and under his presidency the college had a great growth in student body, faculty of instruction, and physical equipment. . . .

I finally decided to go to Princeton because I desired to take certain courses in the college along with my seminary work. For the first two years I took one course with Dr. McCosh in the history of philosophy and one with Dr. William M. Sloane in mediaeval and modern history. Dr. McCosh was a unique personality and a most interesting lecturer. He was an ardent disciple of Plato and Aristotle and counted himself, properly and not with undue self-esteem, as one of the leaders of the Scotch school of philosophy. He had some innocent, amusing mannerisms, walking the platform backwards and forwards (a veritable peripatetic), tweaking his nose, sometimes pulling his ears. Frequently in expressing his conclusions on some matter he was discussing, he would cap the climax and clinch the nails by declaring that "Plato, Aristotle, and myself" hold the following, correct views. He was indeed a thinker of the first order, and his textbooks were ably written and had wide circulation.

15. James McCosh (1811-1894) had received an M.A. from Edinburgh University in 1833. He taught at Queens College, Belfast (1852-1868), where he was known for his productive scholarship and his upholding the principles of intuitional philosophy. He was called to the presidency of the College of New Jersey in 1868.

During the last term of my second year, which was, I think, Dr. McCosh's last teaching year, he gave a course on "Development—What It Can and What It Cannot Do." The discussion concerning evolution was raging at the time, and some very extreme positions were being taken on both sides. Dr. McCosh's booklet of one hundred pages or less was a brief, yet sane and exceedingly helpful, discussion of the much debated subject. He deplored the fact that the word "evolution" had been made a kind of scarehead and given a content which it did not properly contain. He used the less common but well-understood word "development." He emphasized that the process of development was a well-recognized process of the physical, intellectual, moral, and spiritual life. He declared that it was not a matter of any importance as to the method God might have used in the development of the human body to bring it to its present state. He quoted from the 139th Psalm:

For I am fearfully and wonderfully made: marvelous are thy works; and that my soul knoweth right well. My substance was not hid from thee, when I was made in secret, and curiously wrought in the lowest part of the earth. Thine eyes did see my substance, yet being unperfect; and in thy book all my members were written, which in continuance were fashioned, when as yet there was none of them.

This, he declared, showed our ignorance of the methods God used in the creation of the body. He said that Genesis declared that God made the body of man out of the dust of the ground, and chemistry showed that all the elements in man's body were found in the dust of the ground.

Dr. McCosh strongly emphasized, however, that development could not bridge the distinct gap between the creation of the body and the creation of the soul. Varying processes might have been used in the development of the body, but no one nor all of those physical processes could develop a soul. That called for a distinct, second act of creation, just as Genesis declared that after the "Lord God formed man of the dust of the ground," he then by another act "breathed into his nostrils the breath of life; and man became a living soul." He declared that God's Word distinctly stated that the body should return to the ground from which it came and the spirit to the God who gave it. The science of anatomy can describe all the parts of the body, physiology can indicate its varying functions, psychology can study mental processes, physiological psychology can indicate many interesting mental phenomena, but no activity of the body can ever account for the hopes, joys, sorrows, the hatreds, the loves of the soul.

Development, or evolution, Dr. McCosh held, was indeed a method

by which God worked in his world, and it was used by man himself in the development of his physical, his intellectual, his moral, and his spiritual nature, and should not be minimized. On the other hand, neither should it be magnified, but it should be clearly recognized that there were things which evolution could and which evolution could not do.

I considered Dr. McCosh to be one of the ablest personalities with whom I came in contact in my Princeton life, and I was happy that I came to the college before the old Scotch president retired. His courses in common sense philosophy were accepted by me as sound and so sufficiently satisfactory as to make them the basis of my own philosophical thinking. The teaching on evolution as indicated above removed that subject from the field of my further personal concern.

I took courses in history because there had been no chair of history at Randolph-Macon such as was later developed by the able professor, William E. Dodd. Professor Sloane was a strong, well-equipped man, a very attractive lecturer, and his courses were rated high in the college curriculum. I had done a great amount of biographical and historical reading, and the courses I took at Princeton systematized the information which I had already accumulated.

The other major course which I took was one in ethics given by Dr. Francis Landey Patton, the most brilliant man in either the college or seminary faculty at that time.¹⁶ There was not anything unusual in the syllabus or the notes of Dr. Patton's course. The value of the course consisted in the contact with Dr. Patton in the classroom. He was not simply a brilliant man, but he was unusual as well as brilliant. He had attacked the positions of Dr. David Swing in Chicago, and as pastor of the Clark Street Presbyterian Church had delivered twelve great doctrinal sermons which established his standing as a great logician and theologian and brought him finally to Princeton. He had a varied career at Princeton. He was Professor of Ethics in the college and Professor of Theism and Christian Evidences in the seminary. He was then elected president of Princeton College, which position he held for about ten years, resigning to become president of the Theological Seminary, which position he held until his retirement as a teacher. . . .

16. Francis Landey Patton (1843-1932) left the Presbyterian Theological Seminary of the Northwest and came to Princeton Theological Seminary (1881), where he filled a chair created for him, that of the Relations of Philosophy and Science to the Christian Religion. He followed McCosh as president of the College of New Jersey (1888), resigned in 1902, and almost immediately was chosen president of the Princeton Theological Seminary. The controversy with the Reverend David Swing had led in 1874 to Patton's preferring formal charges against Swing for heresy. Swing was acquitted by

The outstanding members of the faculty were the president of the seminary, Dr. William Henry Green, an outstanding authority in Hebrew and Old Testament literature, Dr. Archibald Alexander Hodge, son of Dr. Charles Hodge (who was called at that time "the great Hodge"), Professor of Systematic Theology, and Dr. Francis Landey Patton, Professor of Theism and Christian Evidences. The other professors were good men of average ability who were earnest and faithful and of high character, though they were not very impressive teachers. It so happened that I was especially interested in the subjects taught by the three professors named.

Dr. Green commanded the respect of the entire student body and was held in awe by many.¹⁷ It was difficult to approach him or to be at all familiar with him. It was fortunate that he did not teach the first-year course in Hebrew, for his classroom manner awed, indeed scared, the first-year men to such an extent that they would never have learned the Hebrew grammar. He taught Old Testament criticism and introduction and, strange to relate, *The Shorter Westminster Catechism*.

A recitation of that catechism was the most severe ordeal which any seminary student underwent during his entire course. The method followed was unusual. Immediately upon the calling of the roll Dr. Green would look over his glasses, under his heavy eyebrows, and call out the name of some member of the class and start him with some question on the catechism. For example: "Mr. Cannon, what is the reason annexed to the fourth commandment?" Thus suddenly called, the wretched Mr. Cannon would rise with shaking legs and trembling voice like unto a nine- or ten-year-old schoolboy and try to stumble through the long answer. Immediately following his effort, the stern voice would say, "Mr. Coffin, continue." And from that time until every member of the class had been called, the recitation would proceed without another question being asked, the student being expected to know the exact order of the questions and the answers in the catechism, and to proceed accordingly.

Those Tuesday mornings were sorrowful but hilarious sessions, every man trembling until he had recited. From that time on he was amused, rejoicing in the discomfiture of his fellow classmates. Men

the Presbytery of Chicago of these charges (*The World's Edition of the Great Presbyterian Conflict: Patton vs. Swing* . . . , Chicago: G. Macdonald & Co., 1874).

17. Dr. William Henry Green (1825-1900) was elected professor of Biblical and Oriental Literature at Princeton Theological Seminary in 1859. According to Harold H. Bender in the *Dictionary of American Biography* "as senior member of the faculty, he acted for seventeen years as president of the Seminary," while at the same time being the "scholarly leader in America of the ultraconservative school of Biblical Criticism."

who knew their catechism thoroughly and men of the most amazing self-assurance on ordinary occasions stumbled, choked, and sat down under the "Rabbi's" gaze. Whether he enjoyed the performance I never could make out. He never indicated any sympathy for a struggling student, and the expression of his countenance never changed. It could not be said that the "theologs" ever really loved the "Rabbi," but they respected and admired him increasingly throughout the entire course.

At that time the theological world was almost in an uproar because of the critical hypotheses of W. Robertson Smith of Scotland, and Wellhausen, Keunen, and others of Germany, aided and abetted to a considerable extent, as Princeton thought, by Dr. Charles Augustus Briggs of Union Seminary, New York. Dr. Green considered their theories to be not only speculation without any real foundation, but to be exceedingly dangerous and destructive of true faith, and he applied all of his great ability and learning to combat their theories. I was intensely interested, as always, in anything which really attacked the foundations of the faith. I majored in Dr. Green's courses. I not only took books out of the library . . . , but I spent more money in purchasing books of the higher critics than on any other subject.

Dr. Green's analysis of the theories and of the statements of the critics advanced in support of their theories was thorough, searching, and indeed almost fierce. I delighted in the minuteness and the accuracy of Dr. Green's destructive attacks, and placed Dr. Green up in the class with Bishop Butler for the logical precision and unanswerable conclusions of his criticism. Thanks to Dr. Green, at the end of the seminary course I had satisfied myself as to what both the lower and the higher criticism could do for a better understanding of the Word of God, and, as in the matter of evolution under Dr. McCosh, I had under Dr. Green reached my conclusions as to what were its distinct limitations and what it could not do.

I consider Dr. Green's courses to be the most helpful to me of all the courses taken at the seminary. After my courses under him, the attacks of the leading Higher Critics and their less qualified followers among teachers and preachers produced little or no impression. I kept the books of Wellhausen, Smith, Keunen, and others on my shelves, alongside Dr. Green's annihilating criticisms, for several years and then traded them off at the best bargain possible at Leary's Old Bookstore in Philadelphia.

Dr. Archibald Alexander Hodge was a great teacher, and because of that fact he was a great preacher also. Theology was to him the greatest of all studies because all theology in his thinking tied itself literally

and necessarily to God. The power of his teaching lay in its great simplicity, and he demanded of his students that they should be able to express their views on any theological subject under discussion in plain, understandable language. . . .

It happened that it was customary to hold a "moot court" every year or so in connection with Dr. Hodge's theological course. It was decided by the class to ask that I be put on trial for heresy—for belief and teaching contrary to the standards of the Presbyterian Church. The General Assembly had not yet adopted the Shorter Creed but the church still labored under the burden of a Westminster Confession with all its awful statements and implications. The student body was not, however, enthusiastic over super-Calvinism, or indeed over Calvinism in its raw form, and the ferment was already working in 1886 which ended in the adoption of the Shorter Creed.

The court was held with Dr. Hodge presiding as moderator and in accordance with the proper Presbyterian form. The prosecutor set forth my heretical views with vigor and at great length. I was permitted to defend myself, which I did with equal vigor and with greater length, setting forth with great plainness the Wesleyan Arminian doctrine as opposed to Calvinism and as fully sustained by the teaching of Scripture. A member of my class also defended me and another member of my class closed for the prosecution. Dr. Hodge, after a few brief remarks emphasizing the Presbyterian standards, called for the vote of the Presbytery by ballot. I was acquitted of the heretical charges by a large majority.

Dr. Hodge, as moderator, arose and before announcing the result of the vote, stated in substance: "The vote which I am about to announce is most amazing. The defendant has not only not admitted his guilt but has actually attempted to justify his position by a most positive, sweeping declaration of his belief in the teaching of John Wesley as opposed to the teaching of the Westminster Confession, and has insisted that he is in accord with the present-day views of the Presbyterian Church. And yet the members of this class, to whom I have been teaching theology, have voted by a large majority that he is not guilty of heresy. This, if it has any meaning, implies that most of the members of this class are no longer believers in the Westminster Confession, but are actually Methodists in their doctrinal beliefs. The defendant, however, is acquitted by the vote as recorded by the secretary." The trial was attended by nearly the entire student body and was the subject of much discussion through the seminary for many days, and I was given the name of "the Southern heretic."

To my great distress Dr. Hodge died quite unexpectedly in the middle of my course in systematic theology. While he was succeeded for the rest of the year by Dr. Patton, the loss was very great. Dr. Patton would be reckoned as a more brilliant man than Dr. Hodge. He was intensely logical and had a superb vocabulary. He not only had a sense of humor but the ability to use sarcasm and irony in most devastating fashion. In his course of sermons delivered at Clark Street Presbyterian Church in Chicago, he practically annihilated Dr. David Swing, sweeping him entirely out of the Presbyterian Church. There is perhaps no abler sermonic presentation of the doctrines of the Westminster Confession than are contained in those twelve Clark Street sermons. But while Dr. Patton was able and brilliant and always interesting and instructive, he was not so great a teacher as Dr. Hodge. Still, if Dr. Hodge was gone and could not continue to teach the course, it was a great privilege to have Dr. Patton to complete the year. I only wish that he might have continued through the following year, but the next year Dr. B. B. Warfield was elected to the chair of Systematic Theology. He was an entirely different man and teacher from either Dr. Hodge or Dr. Patton. His Calvinism and his dogmatism were so intense that it seemed to me to reach a point of repulsive exclusiveness, not to say fanatical narrowness. I got little help from my course in systematic theology that year. . . .

At the end of my second year I had become well known in my class, was fairly well liked, and was elected as one of the two men to have charge of the bookroom the coming year. The bookroom was kept by two students selected by the class to order books for the students and to keep on sale as large a stock as the leading publishers of theological books would permit them to have. The bookroom was kept open for two hours daily, and it was supposed that the partners would divide the time. I had frequented the bookroom during my first two years and had given some thought to the methods employed. When I was elected, I determined to sell three or four times as many books as had been sold before. I determined to put in a very large stock of books. Many of the students had bought their books on their trips to Philadelphia and New York because they could see a greater assortment of books there than in the bookroom. I conferred with the leading publishing houses and convinced most of them that large consignments on sale would result in the purchase of very many more books.

About Christmas I proposed to buy outright a large number of books which could not be obtained on consignment, and I proposed to my partner to invest the money necessary. This he preferred not to do. Having tired of working in the bookroom, he proposed that I buy out

his interest, which arrangement was carried out. For the rest of the year I put in a very large supply of books very carefully selected, including very few which I did not desire to retain for my own personal library if the books were unsold. I pursued a policy of frankness with my fellow students, writing in each book the cost mark, and underneath this the selling price, so that every student could see the profit which I would make. My methods were so successful that at the end of the year I had a profit of nearly \$3,000 and several hundred choice volumes for my own personal library. . . .

Many of the theologues, especially of the senior class, went out on Saturday to supply vacant pulpits on Sunday in New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and New York. Applications came in to the secretary of the faculty, who distributed them to the different students. As all the calls were from Presbyterian churches and as I was known by the secretary to be a Methodist, I went out to supply pulpits only two times during my stay at the seminary. On both occasions I happened to go to churches which were seeking a pastor and which took it for granted that I was open to a call from a vacant pulpit. In both cases, after my return to the seminary I received letters from the churches, and in one case was actually waited upon by a committee, the object being to discuss with me the acceptance of the call to the pastorate. I had learned to respect the Presbyterian Church very highly, but I was by heredity, conviction, and choice a Methodist and a Southern Methodist, having a positive purpose to cast my lot and to do my work among my own people.

Aside from the ten-minute sermonettes which the members of the class were required to deliver in the assembly hall during the middle year and the thirty-minute sermon handed in in the senior year, I had little practice in preaching. I gave comparatively little thought and time to the preparation of my ten-minute sermonette delivered in the middle year. I remember that my text was: "Make this valley full of ditches. For thus saith the Lord, Ye shall not see wind, neither shall ye see rain; yet that valley shall be filled with water." I used the text as the basis for an exhortation for necessary personal activity and the doing of our own part if we would secure the co-operation of God in our work. Dr. Aiken, who was the professor critic that night, very kindly let me off with the statement that it was a "very helpful exhortation." But I know my friends did not think very much of it, for A. L. Mershon, a college-student friend who had come over to hear me, was constrained to say to me as we walked back to my room, "Well, I am sure you can do better than that." . . .

While I was without much public training when I left the seminary,

I had received very valuable private instruction. Next to my courses under Drs. McCosh, Green, and Hodge, I consider that the most valuable course I had at Princeton was a private course under Professor Peabody, who had been the very able Professor of Dramatics and Oratory at the college. For personal reasons he had resigned his chair, but was given by Dr. McCosh the privilege of giving private instruction in one of the large examination halls on the very top floor of one of the college buildings. Greatly to my regret I did not hear of Professor Peabody until after the middle of the second year; but having started lessons with him, I continued weekly, and whenever possible twice weekly, to take an hour of instruction from one of the five greatest teachers I ever had.

Professor Peabody was a highly cultured man, literally steeped in the very best of English prose and poetry, and above all with a tremendous love and understanding of the English Bible. . . . He required that a student should surrender himself entirely to his instruction. Owing to the quality and strength of my voice, not so much time was given to the development of tone and strength.

With the student on the platform and the professor in the back of the hall, from sixty to a hundred feet away, services were conducted regularly by the preacher and the congregation of one man—the professor—on the back seat. The principal textbook was, of course, the Bible. The professor, without warning, would call out a passage of Scripture which the student read as best he could, fully realizing after a few experiences how inadequate his interpretation would be. Following the student's reading, Professor Peabody read the passage, bringing out by his inflexion and emphasis latent shades of meaning—ridicule, pathos, indignation, passion, sorrow, joy, agony, bliss—bringing out the full meaning of every word, phrase, clause, and sentence. . . .

In my last year Professor Peabody stressed the development of ability to think quickly, actively, and effectively when called upon with little or no warning. One of his favorite methods was to read a verse or verses of Scripture and give me five or more minutes of quiet to think, and then call on me to preach a sermon, developing the thought of the text and making proper application of the same to individual or social life. Some of those extemporaneous sermons were fearfully and wonderfully made. At first I could not speak more than five minutes, then ten, then fifteen, and finally twenty minutes. It was understood that I desired to obtain profit from the teaching and that I would accept criticisms of my mistakes and faults and instruction as to how to correct them; and this Professor Peabody gave me so plainly and sincerely that it sometimes seemed to be almost merciless. Some of his students could

not take their medicine with good grace and gave up the course. . . .

I always regarded this training given by Professor Peabody as of inestimable value for the pulpit, and especially for church assemblies and public occasions of every kind. Coolness, deliberation, and self-control were greatly strengthened by the faithful, able, kindly discipline of my great teacher.

Matters of unusual importance not connected with seminary life occurred during my Princeton years. At the close of the first seminary year, in May 1886, I went back to Ashland, and from there went daily to attend the session of the General Conference of our Church meeting in the city of Richmond. While I had met some of our Church leaders during my Randolph-Macon life, the General Conference of 1886 was my first opportunity to see and hear the recognized leaders from all over the Church. I studied very carefully the General Conference procedure, listened with great interest to the debates and formal addresses. . . . I decided that the Virginia delegation was the ablest in the conference and that the Virginia Conference itself, in its personnel and in the ability displayed in the debates and in the work of the Annual Conference, measured up very well with the General Conference itself. Although it might be declared to be narrow and provincial, I held substantially the same view from that time until 1918, as long as I had intimate knowledge of the personnel of the Virginia Conference. The men who most impressed me in the General Conference of 1886 were Bishops McTyeire and Keener, and Bishop-elect Charles B. Galloway.¹⁸

I was surprised that Dr. W. W. Duncan received the highest vote in the episcopal election.¹⁹ I asked Dr. Bennett to explain it and he said, "Well, I voted for Wallace Duncan. I know he is not a great preacher, but he was a good pastor, and I think he has a kind heart. We need men with big hearts in the episcopacy to sympathize with our preachers and people. There is only one danger in electing men of

18. Holland Nimmons McTyeire (1824-1889) entered the Virginia Conference in 1845, served in Alabama and Louisiana, founded the *New Orleans Christian Advocate* (1851), and edited the *Christian Advocate*, the official publication of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South (1858-1862). He persuaded Cornelius Vanderbilt to establish Vanderbilt University, and, according to Oswald E. Brown's article on McTyeire in the *Dictionary of American Biography*, was made "president of the board of trust with full veto power." He was elected bishop (1866). Charles Betts Galloway (1849-1909) edited the *New Orleans Christian Advocate* (1882-1886) and was elected bishop (1886). According to John L. Wade in the *Dictionary of American Biography*, he was "the youngest Methodist to be raised to that position in America until that time."

19. William Wallace Duncan (1839-1908) entered the Virginia Conference in 1859. He was teaching at Wofford College in 1877, when he declined the presidency of Randolph-Macon upon the death of his brother James A. Duncan. He was elected bishop in 1886 (Irby, *History of Randolph-Macon*, p. 264; Frederick De Land Leete, *Methodist Bishops*. . . , Nashville [1948], p. 60).

mediocre ability to the episcopacy. They sometimes try to make up for lack of mental ability by magnifying unduly the authority of the episcopal office." This was a wise saying by a man who had watched the bishops go in and out for forty years. . . .

During my Princeton days I took advantage of the nearness of Philadelphia and New York to visit both cities quite frequently on week ends. In Philadelphia I usually went to Bethany Presbyterian Church, which had been built by John Wanamaker, who had developed there the first great modern Sunday School. I was especially attracted by the zeal and consecration of Dr. Arthur T. Pierson, who was a great advocate of foreign missions and editor of the *Missionary Review*. But the principal attraction was Mr. Wanamaker and his Sunday School. The great organizing ability which he had shown in the development of the first great department store in America was manifest in the Bethany Sunday School. The grading was exact from the primary up to the adult Bible class (a large group of men and women), which Mr. Wanamaker frequently taught himself and which was crowded with visitors from all parts of the country. It was in the closing exercises that Mr. Wanamaker showed his great versatility and fertility, gripping the attention of the whole school from little children to gray-headed men and women. He was one of the greatest laymen that America has ever produced.

But I went more frequently to New York than to Philadelphia. . . . Beecher, Storrs, and Talmage, the great Brooklyn triumvirate of preachers, were all living and speaking with power to crowded houses. They were all so great in their own way and I so eagerly desired to hear all of them that when I was listening to one, I could but feel sorry that I was missing the others. Storrs was majesty personified. Beecher was fresh and spontaneous like a rushing mountain stream. Talmage was essentially a dramatist full of vigor and action. What would seem almost ridiculous and overwrought in anyone else seemed natural in him. I remember one night he was preaching on the text, "Then the disciples took him by night, and let him down by the wall in a basket." The pulpit platform was very long, at least fifty feet. In emphasizing the value of deeds of unknown persons as an encouragement to lowly, humble workers, he ran across the platform three times, crying at the top of his voice, "I held the rope! I held the rope which saved the life of the great apostle Paul!" In Beecher or Storrs such action would have been utterly incongruous, indeed impossible, but in Talmage it seemed to be the very thing to do, and it drove home the truth that he was trying to impress.

But the man whose preaching was most helpful to me was Dr. Wil-

liam M. Taylor, pastor of the Broadway Tabernacle. He was preaching in those days a great series of sermons on Bible characters—Moses, David, Elijah, Daniel, Paul—and was expounding the miracles and the parables as few men have done. The style and the [manner] of his preaching greatly appealed to me, and I bought and read everything that Dr. Taylor had written, which had considerable influence on my own style. The congregation usually filled the tabernacle auditorium on Sunday morning, but like many downtown churches, the night congregations had begun to dwindle. I could detect no difference, however, in the quality of Dr. Taylor's sermons preached to the night congregation. One Sunday night I went up and spoke to him and expressed my great appreciation of both his printed and spoken sermons. His face lighted up as he thanked me for what I had said, but he then turned and waving toward the comparatively empty auditorium—not more than two hundred persons—he said quite pathetically, "The bottom has dropped out of my night congregations."

Most of my time in New York on Saturday and Sunday nights was given to the lower end of the city—Sixth Avenue, the Bowery with its mission, and Jerry McCauley's mission. I was greatly interested in the work which was carried on among the "publicans, harlots, and sinners," but I was a young man, neither fearless nor unaware of the dangers into which I went. Nevertheless, I went among and talked freely with what might be called the "underworld," both men and women. I got a very vivid picture of the night life of New York in those Princeton days. I saw in the work of the missions what the power of the gospel could do in the salvation of utterly lost men and women. All through my later life, in cities all over the United States and in European countries, I have maintained my interest in the submerged tenth. I found so many of these lost people with kindly, helpful spirits toward each other, far more attractive and human than many rich, greedy, selfish, covetous men and women in the higher grades of social life. . . .

In those days the Salvation Army had not been developed in the United States. It is now doing some of the work which I then felt the churches ought to be doing, but in which only a few brave, strong spirits were willing to engage, although the splendid results of their missionary efforts among the outcast and the lost should have been sufficient to have stimulated very many others to do similar work. I thought and prayed long and earnestly in those days to determine whether I should give myself to that greatly needed work, and whether it was not as important as work in the foreign mission fields which at that time I greatly desired to enter.

In the spring of 1887 I had gone to Trenton to attend some of the sessions of the New Jersey Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church [which] was meeting there. The great addresses of the Conference were delivered by Bishop James M. Thoburn, who with the background of his own great work in India was impressing upon his church the needs and opportunities of that great field.²⁰ While always interested in missions, I had never before faced the question of my own personal relation to such work; but Bishop Thoburn's message found a lodgment in my heart, and from that day on I have clearly understood and applied to myself the last general order given to the church by the risen Lord to "Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature." I was made to recognize fully that unless Paul had been obedient to the heavenly vision, the gospel of repentance and salvation from sin would not have been proclaimed in Europe, would not have come to America, and that I myself owed my own salvation to the obedience of the early church to the command of our Lord and Master.

I sought an interview with Bishop Thoburn, and for more than an hour conferred with him about the work on the mission fields, especially about India. Bishop Thoburn realized my genuine interest and asked a number of questions concerning my life and preparation. When I told him of my serious breakdown in 1885, of the death of my sister in 1886,²¹ and of the present diseased condition of my brother, he expressed very serious doubt as to whether any Mission Board would agree to send me to the field, and suggested an interview with the foreign mission secretaries in New York. I saw the foreign mission secretaries of both the Methodist Episcopal and of the Presbyterian Church. Greatly to my disappointment, the secretaries of both boards told me quite positively that they did not think there was any possibility that with my own personal and family record I would be accepted by any board. This was a great disappointment to me as I felt that my own health had been fully restored. I realized, however, the common sense underlying the attitude of the officials whom I had consulted.

But the new emphasis which I had learned to place on the Master's great commission has never been lessened nor has it spent its force. The mission fields have always been to me a call to a great adventure

20. James M. Thoburn (1836-1922) entered the ministry of the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1858. He was sent to India in the following year and was elected missionary bishop for Southern Asia in 1888, an office which he held until his retirement in 1908.

21. Virginia Cannon died of tuberculosis on July 1, 1886. In the fall of that year the Cannon family suffered another blow when a major fire swept the town of Salisbury, destroying the Cannon home and store.

to do sacrificial, glorious service in extending the boundaries of the Kingdom of God. In every field of service I have had I have emphasized missions in writing and speaking, wherever opportunity offers. During my entire episcopal service I asked for supervision of some mission fields.

My attitude towards missions was greatly emphasized by the formation at that time by two Princeton men, Robert P. Wilder and John M. Foreman, of what became known later as the Student Volunteer Missionary Movement.²² To emphasize this movement Mr. [Dwight L.] Moody held a conference at Mt. Hermon, Massachusetts, the seat of one of the schools which he had organized. I attended this conference in the summer of 1887. The principal platform speakers were Henry Drummond, Dr. J. Stuart Holden, of Portman Square Church, London, Bishop [Eugene Russell] Hendrix, and one or two others. While Henry Drummond especially was exceedingly fine, the man who gripped the students' hearts was Mr. Moody. There I was in touch with him at close range, and he seemed to me like a giant dynamo, generating vital power for all who came in contact with him. I well remember the delightful meetings we held on Round Top, a spot later selected for Mr. Moody's burial place.

At last the day came in May, 1888, when I had received my diploma from the seminary, had completed my work for the master's degree at the college, had sold the stock of books I had remaining to the book agent for the coming year, had packed my own books—quite a sizable library, much larger than that of most preachers in the Virginia Conference, had shipped them to my father's home in Salisbury, had transferred the money I had from the banks at Princeton, had bid goodbye to my classmates and friends in Princeton, and was ready to start my life in my own Southern Methodist Church.

In June, 1886, owing to his impaired health, Dr. Bennett had presented his resignation as president of Randolph-Macon College. . . . He was appointed as pastor of the Gordonsville and Orange Circuit and he attempted to serve it, but his health did not improve and he died in the summer of 1887. . . . He was one of the great influences in shaping my life. We understood and appreciated each other, and he had given his full approval to the marriage of his daughter and myself.

It had been agreed in 1883 that our marriage should take place after I had finished my college and seminary course. While the separation ex-

22. The Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions was organized at Mount Hermon, Massachusetts, in 1886. Informal meetings in which Wilder and his friends participated had begun in 1884 (Gordon Poteat, *Student Volunteer Movement*. . . , New York: Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions, 1928).

tending over months at a time without any break became very irksome, only partially relieved by our weekly letters, yet we both recognized the wisdom of the plan. We were married on August 1, 1888, in the presence of quite a group of friends of the family, some of whom were spending the summer in the neighborhood. . . . We decided to spend our honeymoon at Chautauqua, New York, a journey of twenty-four hours from Virginia. . . .

No more delightful place could be found to spend the days of a honeymoon than Chautauqua. At that time, in 1888, Dr. J. H. Vincent was in his very prime of intellectual and moral leadership. Outstanding lecturers and preachers were eager to appear on the Chautauqua platform, and they were there during that month of August. Phillips Brooks was there in all the splendor of his great power. He preached two great sermons on the "Light of the World" and "Walk in the Spirit." I had already bought some of his sermons, but my wife and I agreed that we would buy all the rest of them that were in print. F. W. Gunsaulus was in the midst of his great career in Chicago and delivered illuminating biographical lectures every morning for a week. I shall not attempt to describe the majestic eloquence of the one and the magical word-painting of the other. They were superb in their fields. . . . Dr. James M. Buckley was there in a series of sermons and lectures. The most interesting and helpful work which he did was his conduct of "the question box." This was a noted institution as conducted by Dr. Buckley at Chautauqua for many years. Dr. Buckley's encyclopedic information, his alert mind, and ready wit furnished an evening of rare entertainment.

We also took regular study courses at Chautauqua under those unusual Bible teachers, Dr. Jesse Lyman Hurlbut and Dr. A. E. Dunning, which were a stimulus and furnished the pattern for Bible teaching later on as pastor and as college professor. Chautauqua was revisited twice in later years, but it was never the same Chautauqua. Vincent was gone, and the platform men, while good, did not measure up to the standards of 1888.

Our bridal trip was completed by the usual trip to Niagara Falls and to Watkins Glen. But as the Virginia Conference was not to meet in annual session until November, there were more than two months in which to visit at Salisbury and Louisa County. The stay in Salisbury was very delightful. . . .

Nearly every morning, drives were taken by my wife and myself behind the faithful Patsy, a stop usually being made in some secluded woods road when, following my custom under Professor Peabody, I gave my Bible to my wife and told her that she must be Professor Pea-

body. She selected whatever passage of Scripture she desired to hear me talk upon, and after five minutes' meditation I preached the best extemporaneous, short sermon that I could. At the close of my sermon my wife criticized my work, and then before leaving the improvised preaching place, notes were made of the text and of the exposition, many of which were copied in a pocket memorandum book which I have carried around in my satchel to the present day, and so it escaped the Blackstone fire. Some of the sermon notes in that memorandum book I think to be as fresh and vivid as any which I have. This insistence that my wife give me faithful, loving criticism in the piney woods near Salisbury resulted in free, helpful advice and suggestions through all the years to come.

After the conclusion of our visit in Salisbury, we went over for a pleasant stay at the Bennett home in Louisa. From there we went on to attend the Conference session at Portsmouth without the shyness or embarrassment of most newlywed couples.

III. Early Ministry in the Pastorate

The writer was a pastor for only six years—on a country circuit, in a new and growing city, and in a conservative old Virginia town. But these six years in the most formative period of his life had a tremendous effect upon the thinking, preaching, and activities of later years.

I WAS RECOMMENDED for admission on trial in the Virginia Annual Conference by the Quarterly Conference of Berkeley Station, just across the river from Norfolk. Berkeley was selected because the pastor of the church was the Reverend Bernard F. Lipscomb, a former pastor of the Salisbury church, and for many years one of my closest ministerial friends. . . . The Conference that year was presided over by Bishop John C. Granberry, a native Virginian and a great friend of the Bennett family.¹ Having passed an approved examination, I was admitted on trial on my birthday, November 13, 1888, at the age of twenty-four years, and continued as a member of that body until 1918 (thirty years), when I very reluctantly gave up my membership to accept the office of bishop. My wife and I sat in the gallery and followed every item of the proceedings. We had attended many sessions of the Annual Conference before but this was different. Now we were members, and we began to listen to the men who spoke and to the proceedings from a different viewpoint. How well do I remember that seat in the gallery in old Monumental Church! . . .

As the bishop and some of the presiding elders were our friends, I was asked what kind of charge I would like to have, and I unhesitatingly said that we preferred a circuit in the hill country. I could have been sent to a small city station, but I did not desire it. I was assigned to the Charlotte Circuit in a section of Virginia which I had never visited and of which I knew practically nothing, having never met anyone from that county.

Charlotte Circuit had four church buildings and six preaching ap-

1. John Cowper Granberry (1829-1907) graduated from Randolph-Macon in 1848. He served as chaplain in the Confederate Army, was professor of Moral Philosophy and Practical Theology at Vanderbilt (1875-1882), and was elected bishop (1882) (*Appletons' Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, II, 704).

pointments, with a distance of twenty miles between the churches farthest apart and with a membership scattered over a correspondingly large territory. The county was proud of its place in Virginia history, counting the Randolphs, the Henrys, and the Marshalls as among its citizens. The Marshall and Henry families were still quite prominent in the county and were all staunch Presbyterians. The proximity of Hampden-Sydney College and Union Theological Seminary had resulted in many strong Presbyterian churches being located in that section of Virginia. As is frequently the case, the Presbyterians had more cultured, better educated people in their congregations than did the Methodists and Baptists, but there were two or three leading Methodist families in each community.

When the train reached Keysville on our arrival on the circuit, we were met by an elderly man wearing glasses, with rather a gruff voice, who took charge of us and led us to the near-by hotel, of which he was the owner and his wife the efficient manager. He was probably the most well-to-do man on the circuit, kindly in nature, and quite deaf. We were given an excellent supper and shown to our room, from which we heard the steward tell his wife in quite a loud tone of voice that the Conference had sent them two "babes in the woods," that they would probably get lost going around the circuit. (At that time my wife weighed about 118, and I weighed about 135.) His wife, who spoke in a very clear voice so that he might hear, replied, "They may be babes, but they have mighty bright eyes."

After a month's careful survey, driving to all the churches and meeting the leading members, we decided to live at Charlotte Court House. There we were able to secure a very large room, on the second floor with a southeastern exposure and a large fireplace, in the hotel at the Court House. It was a large, old frame building, with only an occasional guest except on the Monday of court and a few days following. Then it sometimes fed from seventy-five to a hundred [people]. We paid twenty-five dollars per month for the room and board, rough laundry, and servant's attention. The proprietor and his wife and daughter were kindly, pleasant people, who became very fond of us and did everything they could to make our stay in the old hotel as comfortable as possible. We had a few rather choice pieces of furniture (wedding presents) which made the room very comfortable and attractive. The best books of my library were sent from Salisbury; and with only this one room with its great wood-burning fireplace, one of the most delightful years of our lives was spent on the Charlotte Circuit.

A fair judge of horses, I bought the horse and buggy of the former

pastor for one hundred dollars, and was glad to find that I had secured not only a fine looking, gentle, intelligent horse, but one that could average around eight miles an hour even on the rough Charlotte County roads of those days. . . .

While both my wife and I had been thrown with Methodist preachers all our lives, neither of us had had any experience on a county circuit. We counted it as the greatest blessing that came to us that the leading steward on the circuit who lived at the Court House was the highest type of Virginia gentleman. William A. Smith was not only well-bred—right up at the top with all the “first families”—but he was well-educated, a lawyer with probably the largest practice in the county, of a most lovable disposition, a believer in the doctrine and discipline of the Methodist Church, generous to the limit of his ability, and sometimes more. . . .

Brother Smith's law office on the Court House green was a favorite gathering place for village and country people on county court days. Here from time to time, I met not only the leading people around the Court House, but people from all over the county who came to the Court House to transact business; and on county court day I could sit in Brother Smith's office and meet and talk with almost everyone of the entire eleven stewards of the circuit; and what was most important, this was done under the stimulating, generous glow of a man who had known all of them from childhood and who understood very fully the narrowness, the breadth, the failings, and the good qualities each one possessed, and they all knew that Brother Smith knew and understood them. Time and again during the year I had different stewards to say to me, “Brother Smith has been telling you about me.”

After the second court day after dinner I called for a meeting of the circuit stewards in Brother Smith's office during the dinner recess of the county court, and it became generally known around the Court House green that the young preacher was going to have a meeting of the “Methodist bunch” at Brother Smith's office every court day. These meetings were of great value, as many differences of opinion and some quite knotty problems were brought up and discussed in an easy, informal way which would not have been possible at a regular Quarterly Conference. And with Brother Smith, whom they all honored and respected, acting somewhat as an umpire, satisfactory conclusions were nearly always reached.

The first sermon of my ministry was preached at the Court House church. It was quite a large room and it was crowded as there was no service in any neighboring church and there was great curiosity to see

and to hear the "young" preacher, who, it had been noised abroad among the Presbyterians, had spent three years at Princeton Seminary and yet had come out a Methodist. The text was one which my wife had given me to preach upon in one of my extemporaneous sermons in the piney woods around Salisbury: "Wherefore, beloved, seeing that ye look for such things, be diligent that ye may be found of him in peace, without spot and blameless." The preacher began: "Laziness is a crime. A lazy man is a thief. He steals not only from himself but he steals from his family, from his friends, from the entire community of which he is a part."

To my surprise and somewhat to my dismay, as I made these statements in a positive, emphatic tone of voice, I saw a smile go over the faces of almost all the congregation, accompanied in some cases with a chuckle and a craning of necks to look at four individuals who sat on the pew at the stove. Without knowing it, I had shot a bolt which captured the entire community. There were four grown men of good family who did nothing much but wear out good clothes, loafing in the stores and on the Court House green. They had declared that they had organized themselves into a band of the "Sons of Eternal Rest," but from that time on they were branded by the community as the "four thieves." They took the sermon in good part, although they were greeted with shouts of laughter when they went out of the church. None of them fell out with the preacher, and I received two of them into the church and they joined the ranks of industry before the end of the year. . . .

To give all the appointments a preaching service every other Sunday called for preaching twice every Sunday, and three times every other Sunday, with from fifteen to thirty miles to be covered over heavy, red-clay roads, very muddy in the winter. The longest ride between sermons was from Lebanon to Hebron, and vice versa. . . .

My father had taught me to be very strict in the matter of keeping an appointment, once made. I considered that an appointment to preach was an agreement on my part with the people of the community, and that only the most extraordinary circumstances could justify a failure to keep my promise. In the month of February it began snowing on Saturday at midnight, and was snowing heavily Sunday morning. The Hebron appointment was about twenty miles from the Court House. The Court House people said that nobody would think of going to church in such weather, but all agreed that they would doubtless come to the county court the next day.

As I drove up into the clearing around the church just about eleven

o'clock, I caught sight of a man on a mule riding hastily away from the church in the opposite direction. Only one man, the youngest of the stewards, was there. I asked him who was the man on the mule who had just ridden away. The steward replied, "That was Brother —— [one of the older stewards]. He said he knew you wouldn't come, but his wife and children all said that you would; so he rode out here to make sure of it. He has ridden back home to tell his family how foolish it was of them to have thought that they would have found the preacher at church on such a day."

The young steward and I went into the church. There was plenty of wood to keep up a good fire, and the weather was not exceedingly cold. The young steward thought that I would sit and chat a while, and then go home with him and get some dinner. He was greatly surprised when I went into the chancel, got the hymn book, came down within the altar rail, gave out a hymn, sang it, prayed, read the scripture lesson, and preached a sermon which he told the Hebron people afterward he could not dodge, for he was the only man there and so could not pass it over to anyone else.

At my last previous appointment at Hebron I had announced that I was going to talk about the menace of the barroom at Randolph, a near-by railroad station; for here on my first charge far out in the country I found the slimy, destructive trail of the liquor traffic. I preached the very sermon that I had intended to preach before the snow came, and closed with some strong words concerning the Randolph barroom; how dangerous it was to the young men of the community; how important it was that all the members, especially the leaders, of Hebron Church should express a positive disapproval of its existence by both precept and by example; and how I hoped that the leaders would attend the coming court and use their influence to prevent the renewal of the license. It so happened that this very steward—the youngest of the board—found it very difficult to go to Randolph to trade without getting in with the crowd in the barroom (for he was naturally sociable and quite popular), and sometimes it was reported that he went home with more liquor than he could safely carry. I knew of that report, but the steward did not think I did. That intensely personal sermon on that snowy morning was the turning point in that young steward's life. He never entered the Randolph barroom from that time on, became the most liberal, earnest supporter of Hebron Church, and later sent two of his daughters to Blackstone College after I had become president of that school.

The news of that Sunday morning service, of the preacher coming

through the snow and preaching to one man, was spread all over the county, and from that time on, no matter what the weather was, there was a goodly congregation at every church on the circuit, for the people knew that the preacher would be there.

The first Quarterly Conference was held about a week after the snow-storm mentioned above, and nearly three months after I had come to the circuit, after I had preached several times at every church, and after my wife and I had visited in very many of the homes of the people, always with prayer and usually with a song. This Conference was still an occasion of importance and interest, and as I now recall that first Quarterly Conference was attended by every steward on the circuit. The presiding elder, the Reverend Joseph H. Amis, I had known as presiding elder of the Eastern Shore District when for four years he lived in my home town of Salisbury. He was one of the best preachers of the old school. He had a good mind, which was quite logical in its working; and although he never had any college training, yet he had been a hard student of the best books of the Wesleyan theological type. He had heard the best preachers of the Church, from which he had profited; and having a very retentive memory, he could quote strong passages from their sermons. He was the best presiding elder I ever had, and while a pastor was one of the best in the Conference.

It seemed to me that he had had some experiences with stewards on country circuits which had made him less effective than he might have been in the matter of stressing the importance of raising the pastor's salary and of the Conference collections. While I believed that every charge should give a good support to its pastor and that every charge was able to do so, yet I had not said anything to my stewards about my salary. The circuit had the year before paid to a married man with wife and two children about \$450. I frankly told the Quarterly Conference that I could not meet my necessary expenses on that amount. I gave them an itemized statement of the cost of board, upkeep of horse and buggy, wearing apparel, moderate life insurance, necessary newspapers, periodicals, and books, and contributions to the Conference collections, including missions. I told them very frankly that I might live on something less than I had indicated, but I did not think I should be expected to do so; and that while I was going to give them the best service I could, I expected them to pay me enough to meet my obligations, as I would not run in debt.

The old brother who had called us "babes in the woods" was, to my great surprise, quite enthusiastic, stating that that was the first time he had ever heard a preacher say what he expected to do with the money

they paid him; but the brother who had ridden the mule away from the church before the preacher arrived was not satisfied. He was sure that the people would not pay any more than they had paid the year before, and if they had a freshet in the river and lost their corn crops, they would not pay as much.

All of the stewards but two or three had held office from twenty or thirty to forty years. They had set the standard of giving in the several churches by what they gave. No matter what the circumstances, the needs of the preacher's family, or the appeals for special purposes, most of them gave the same amount every year, and some of them discouraged other members who proposed to increase their gifts. The brother on the mule said he expected to pay just what he had been paying—fifty cents a month, six dollars a year—and he did not think any other member of Hebron Church could pay more than he did the year before. But the young steward to whom I had preached the individual sermon said that he expected to double what he had been paying, that he would pay twelve dollars a year. Immediately there was an explosive protest from the brother who rode the mule. He declared most vehemently that no man in Hebron Church was able to give more than five dollars a year, but that his wife had insisted on his giving another dollar for her. But the young steward held his ground, and from that day the sway of the brother on the mule was broken in Hebron Church. . . . His skin was too thick for the preaching or prayers of his pastor to make any apparent dent in it, although he was often very uncomfortable and moved his seat from near the front to the middle of the church.

My salary was finally fixed at five hundred dollars a year and traveling expenses to the circuit, which amounted to forty-five dollars. After the salary had been fixed, I simply said, "I consider this to be an agreement between the officials of the charge and their pastor. I shall try to do the work which you have a right to expect me to do, and I shall expect you to raise this money which you have promised. . . ."²

When the presiding elder reported the assessments on the charge for Conference collections, including missions, I said to the Quarterly Conference that, while of course I expected the stewards to give me their full support in my effort, I would make myself responsible for the raising of the Conference collections and I hoped to secure a larger amount than the assessment for missions. Whereupon my balky steward sprang up and spoke out briefly but emphatically, "I do not believe in foreign missions. I will not give one penny."

2. This is taken from the "third person" draft. The "first person" draft gives the salary as \$45.00 per month, \$540.00 per year.

With all the daring of youth I replied, "Well, if so, you may be a church member, but you are not a Christian. How do we happen to be sitting in this quarterly meeting this morning? How did the gospel come to us? It was because our Lord commanded the disciples, 'Go ye into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature, beginning in Jerusalem, and in all Judea, and in Samaria, and unto the uttermost part of the earth.' And they obeyed him, and they preached in Asia, and from there they brought the gospel to Europe, and they sailed from Europe and brought the gospel to America, and we are sitting in this church here in Charlotte County, Virginia, today because the disciples of our Master obeyed his last command. Any man who is not willing to take his orders from our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ, cannot claim to be a Christian."

The Quarterly Conference, not knowing the intensity of my missionary spirit, was quite surprised at this exhortation on the subject of missions. My antimission brother made no reply. He had a very thick skin and at first sat near the rear in the church, and I am sure he did not feel very comfortable under my preaching for some months, but he gradually moved up towards the front. When after the two weeks of my special meeting I took the missionary offering, he surprised the whole church by leading the subscription with a goodly sum. . . .³

My wife and I were both fond of children. The latter part of May, 1889, a baby came into our home. She was the first of our nine children. We named her Lura Lee after her mother and her grandmother, Mrs. Virginia Lee Bennett, whose mother was a descendant of the Fairfax Lees. By the time our baby was a month old she was in the buggy with her father and mother riding all over the circuit, and as she was a sweet, well-behaved baby, we were doubly welcomed in the homes of the people, especially by the mothers and daughters. . . .

The year sped by all too quickly. Our people really loved us and we loved them and wanted and expected to stay with them. It was decided that the time had come to build a parsonage, and after much discussion, claims, and counterclaims, in which we very wisely took sides with no congregation, a very comfortable, well-located house was built, but it was not furnished for occupancy until after the Annual Conference.

During the year protracted meetings were held at all churches, re-

3. At this time Cannon began a campaign to raise money for the construction of a church "at the railroad station near the center of the Circuit at Drake's Branch." "At the very height of the dark tobacco season" he went to Lynchburg, where "much money was being spent by the Charlotte planters with the Lynchburg merchants." He was successful in raising enough money to complete plans for the construction of the Drake's Branch Church.

sulting in quite a harvest from the sowing of the previous months. A number of young men and women were added to the church who became leaders later on. The pastor was paid not only the full amount promised but sixty-five dollars more, and forty-five dollars was paid for traveling expenses, making a total of over six hundred dollars, the largest amount the circuit had paid in very many years. The Conference collections were all paid in full, and the missionary offerings were far in excess of the assessment. The mother, the father, the baby, Lura Lee, and the faithful Dexter had all been well-fed, and the preacher went to Conference with money in his pocket and some money in the bank.

There was no thought other than returning for another year. The [last] Quarterly Conference told the presiding elder that he must send the preacher back. The Presbyterians, and even the Episcopalians on the circuit, joined in a petition and sent it to the presiding elder. . . . Without any consultation or warning, I was read out for Newport News. We could hardly believe that the change had been made. The presiding elder, Brother Amis, was entirely sincere in thinking that it was a promotion for me; but I did not so regard it, and I protested very vigorously and asked him what he had done with the petitions of the people. But he then said that the change was made necessary in order properly to adjust other appointments. My study of the appointments did not convince me that the change was necessary, and I formed an opinion, which has been somewhat strengthened, that two presiding elders very often arrange to exchange two preachers without giving the matter as thorough consideration as it should have.

However the change had been made and it seemed impossible to do anything about it. It was with sad hearts that we returned to Charlotte to pack up our things, to sell the faithful Dexter, and to bid goodby to the people with whom we had spent such a happy year—as happy indeed as any in the many years that have followed. I said as little as I could, for the new pastor was a college mate for whom I had genuine regard and respect, but to whom I did not want to turn over my Charlotte County people. We purposely took as few days as possible for our leave-taking, as we were sorrowful enough without having too many personal goodbys. An indelible picture has been that of our noble Court House steward, William A. Smith, after we had taken dinner at his home, carrying Lura Lee in his arms to the buggy, kissing her gently, then giving her back to her mother, and saying, “That kiss is for all of you.” Then he took off his hat and waved it to us as long as we were in sight as we drove slowly down the road to take the train at Drake’s Branch

for our new appointment at Newport News. My wife and I wept openly at the parting. . . .

There could not have been a much greater change in our type of work. Charlotte County was one of the old, settled, country districts of Virginia, where nearly all the people had known each other from childhood. Newport News was a new town, the people coming literally from nearly every state in the union. Probably about half came from near-by Virginia counties and cities; a very large group came from Philadelphia and other ship-building towns in the North; many others came into the new town to grow up with it and to make a place for themselves. In addition, there were the restless ones, the rolling stones, never satisfied, moving on from one place to another.

The Virginia Methodists in the town had organized themselves into an independent charge. A neat church building had been erected in a central location, and a very tiny house, with six tiny rooms and a very tiny back yard, not far from the church, had been rented for a parsonage, at a cost of fifteen dollars per month, which I still think to have been nearly double its value. The Board of Stewards was composed principally of young, fairly progressive men, who were genuinely interested in the church, and who wanted to go ahead as rapidly as possible without incurring heavy obligations. They gave us as warm and kindly a reception as we could possibly have expected. And as there was no help for what had been done, we gave ourselves up unreservedly to the work of our new field of labor.

A goodly number of Northern Methodists, mostly from Philadelphia, had just moved to Newport News to take work in the shipyards. Several of them were officials paid large salaries; the others were skilled workmen with good wages. There was only one small Northern Methodist church in eastern Virginia, located at Phoebus, about nine miles from Newport News. The presiding elder and the pastor of that church came over and had several conferences with the Northern Methodists at Newport News and endeavored to organize a church, negotiations continuing for several weeks. I wrote to the bishop in charge about the matter, and advised the Southern Methodist stewards to enter into no discussion with the Northern Methodists concerning a separate church organization. My wife and I visited in the homes of the Philadelphians, carrying with us the irresistible baby, Lura Lee, and inviting them all to attend the church services and the Sunday School. Having very recently lived for three years in Princeton, with frequent visits to Philadelphia, and being well acquainted by sight and reputation with many of the outstanding preachers of the Philadelphia Conference, I was able

to talk with some understanding of Philadelphia church life. After two or three months I approached the most active church worker[s], both among the salaried men and among the skilled workmen, with the proposal that they join my church and be elected stewards. This proposal was accepted. The announcement of the election of these two additional stewards was received with great favor by the Northern group; all talk of a separate Northern Methodist Church passed away, and the church had no more loyal members, and the Cannons no better friends, than some of these Northern people.

Two years were spent at Newport News. They were crowded with hard work and abounded with many interesting incidents. I was able to systematize my work as I could not do on the Charlotte Circuit. There the only week which I could give to study was the week before the morning Sunday preaching at Charlotte Court House. The mornings of most of that week were given to close study with reference to my pulpit work and the evenings to general reading. At Newport News I gave the entire morning to study unless there was some unusual interruption. Every afternoon was given to pastoral visiting, which without a buggy or automobile in a town of the unusual distances in Newport News was quite a strenuous undertaking, especially as the baby carriage usually went along. Most of the evenings also were taken up with church meetings or in visiting the homes where it was not possible to see the men in the daytime. There was a great scarcity of houses in Newport News so that men could not bring their families with them, and it was a difficult matter to keep in touch with men who had no home but a boardinghouse. . . .

I believed that the business of the preacher was to preach the Word of God, yet I also firmly believed that the Word of God applied to every form of human activity, that the Christian ideal, spirit, and motive should permeate and control all the living of a follower of Christ. My pulpit, therefore, was not only the place to preach the gospel of personal salvation from sin, but to proclaim the duties of a Christian, his obligations, and his responsibility to live everywhere "as becometh the gospel of Christ." There was never any hesitant note in my preaching; what I could not positively declare, I did not discuss in uncertain, doubtful language. . . .

During my years as a station pastor it was my habit to go to bed immediately after the morning service and to sleep one or two hours before eating dinner. After dinner there was an hour or so with the family, and then I went to the study to prepare for the evening service. I felt that I must go into the pulpit at night with as much life and

vigor as in the morning. My night congregations at Newport News were remarkable, a great proportion of them being men who were usually crowding in and filling every corner. On whatever subject I preached, there were always some paragraphs of direct appeal to accept Jesus Christ as Saviour, first of all, and then as Lord and Master. I knew that some of these men heard preaching very rarely, and I wanted to appeal to the souls of every one of them. Nearly every Sunday I was kept in the church to talk with strangers, and there were frequent additions to the church on profession of faith, as well as by letter.

It soon became evident that if the church was to fulfill its mission it must be greatly enlarged to hold the congregations which, especially at night, tried to get seats. There was no money in sight, but feeling that it was a genuine missionary work, I had plans made for an extension of the church building to seat 50 per cent more. With those plans, I went over to Norfolk, where Methodism was very strong, and there went to the offices and the homes of the leading Methodists asking them to pledge certain definite amounts, to make up the money needed for the new building. I also applied to the shipyard, railroad, and elevator companies to aid in furnishing needed accommodations for the workers in their plants. The effort was successful and by the end of my first year the "Gunbarrel Church," as it was called from its length, had been completed on Washington Avenue and was filled to overflowing nearly every Sunday night.

The city of Newport News was very widely scattered. After my return for the second year, I realized that if the children were to be reached, Sunday Schools must be organized in the east and north ends of the city. Some of the members, as is usually the case, opposed such action, as likely to weaken the Washington Avenue Church. I preached one Sunday morning on the text, "There is that scattereth, and yet increaseth," and "Cast thy bread upon the waters: for thou shall find it after many days." At the close of the sermon, I asked to meet members of the church who would volunteer to work in Sunday Schools at the east and north ends. A goodly number responded, the Sunday Schools were organized, chapels were built on convenient lots, and I preached at each end once or twice monthly. From these Sunday Schools developed the present strong churches of Grace and Chestnut Avenue.

It became evident that while the Washington Avenue Church had an excellent location, yet a new church building with Sunday School classrooms was greatly needed. It was decided to sell the property and to erect a modern church building in an equally central location, but on a lower-priced lot. This plan, while carefully considered, was not car-

ried into effect during my pastorate, but a few years later. The Washington Avenue property was sold, and the present Trinity Church erected.

The greater part of the land upon which the city of Newport News has been built had been bought up by one company before the city was formally launched. This land was plotted into lots which were sold to the incoming settlers for business, residence, and manufacturing purposes. There was a prominent real-estate agent in Washington Avenue Church with whom I was very intimate. From my own observation in pastoral visiting and in the office of this real-estate agent, I saw that the demand for houses at a moderate rental was very great, and that to secure good, settled, married people as citizens, it was important that this need should be supplied. I bought lots and on some of them erected a row of six-room houses with modern appliances, which were easily rented at a fair price, until they were sold several years later. To do this I used my own money and credit, and took into partnership with me an intimate friend.

This was the first of very many business transactions in which I engaged throughout my life. I never considered that there was any reason why a minister of the gospel should not prudently invest whatever money might come to him properly, provided it did not interfere with the proper performance of his duties as a minister, in whatever position he might be called to serve. It was known to the Newport News congregation that its pastor had some money and credit, and there was no criticism offered to his building and owning [rental] houses. While the investment was not very profitable in dollars and cents, yet the experiences with my tenants added much to my knowledge of human nature, and after the houses were sold, that form of investment was never again made.

Newport News, as is the case with most seaport towns, was cursed with many saloons, and with a red-light district which was recruited largely from the colored population. While an unceasing warfare for decency, respectability, and good morals was waged, the population for many years was of such a floating and transient character that it was difficult to control anything but the central part of the city. On the other side of the railroad tracks there was a section known as Hell's Half Acre. Some of the best members of Washington Avenue Church lived in the Acre.

One family had come from a near-by county, and the father had secured work at the piers. The mother and children attended Washington Avenue Church, the father coming occasionally at night. He was

a self-willed, high-tempered man, and soon after he came to the city he began to frequent the saloons in Hell's Half Acre, sometimes drinking to excess and coming home very violent and dangerous. There was a baby in the house, of whom he was very fond. One night, while in a half-drunken condition, he took the baby into the bed with him, and in the night overlaid it and smothered it. His distress was very great, and he sat in the house moaning and sobbing. The mother sent for her pastor. I came and sent for some of the ladies of the church. The father had spent so much drinking and gambling at the saloon that the family were practically pauperized. There were no decent clothes with which to dress the dead child for burial. The ladies bought clothes and shoes and a little coffin, and promised to return the next morning for the funeral services. On the next morning when they came, they found the mother weeping and the body of the child lying in the coffin entirely bare. The evening before, crazed with appetite and threatening his wife and the children if they interfered, the father took the clothes and shoes from the body, carried them to one of the lowest dives, traded them for liquor, and was found the next morning, in common parlance, dead drunk.

Other harrowing experiences occurred during my pastorate at Newport News. It was the first time that I had come face to face with the liquor traffic in its worst form, as pastors in our cities see it as they go into the homes of their people. My hatred of the traffic and my determination to fight it steadily grew. . . .

In September, 1891, the second Ecumenical Methodist Conference was held in the Metropolitan Methodist Church in the city of Washington. I made it a habit to attend all important church gatherings, especially of Methodism, and I decided to attend the Washington Conference the entire ten days. In order to help pay my expenses I arranged with Dr. Paul Whitehead, at that time my presiding elder and assistant editor of the *Richmond Advocate*, to write reports of the Conference for the *Advocate*. This engagement gave me a seat in the very front among the editors and correspondents of the church papers.

It was a great experience for a young preacher. I had heard of T. B. Stephenson, the president of the Wesleyan Conference, of William Arthur, author of *The Tongue of Fire*, and of the incomparable Hugh Price Hughes, and now I saw them in the flesh. I had been taking the *New York Advocate*, edited by that paragon of editors, Dr. James M. Buckley, and had imagined him as a man of large frame and tall in stature. I was amazed to see a short, slender man with black side-whiskers and a bald head, but when the man got into action, I knew

that it was Buckley. My articles which appeared in the *Richmond Advocate* were my first real attempt at newspaper writing. . . .

The Virginia Conference of 1891 was held in Petersburg, and was presided over by Bishop John C. Keener, for whom I had great respect and admiration. He was not only great in the pulpit, but he was a mastermind in the cabinet in more senses than one. He was a veritable terror to presiding elders who liked to work out a "slate" among themselves and get its approval by the bishop, either as a whole or by piecemeal. At that Conference Bishop Keener kept his intentions as to the appointments to himself. He listened to the presiding elders, permitted them to put down things as they desired them, and made his own appointments alone in his room.

There was no provision in the *Discipline* at that time requiring that the appointments be read in the presence of the presiding elders before reading them to the Conference. Having made a very strong, characteristic talk, Bishop Keener read his list of appointments. From the very beginning the bombshells began to drop; and the preachers, especially the presiding elders, sat up all over the conference room. One of them, Dr. Alexander G. Brown, at the close of the reading of his district, could not control himself, but broke into a hearty laugh, which brought a glare from the fierce eyes of the Bishop. The slate, which certain presiding elders thought had certainly been approved without close scrutiny by the Bishop, was smashed from top to bottom. . . .

Much to my surprise, I was taken from Newport News, where I believed that I was greatly needed, and sent to Central Portsmouth, where I did not think I was especially needed. The wife of the former pastor of Central was ill in the parsonage in the last stages of tuberculosis. After two or three weeks it became evident that she would never be well enough to be moved to Farmville, to which charge her husband had been appointed. It was suggested that I go to Farmville and leave the other man at Portsmouth.

As there had been efforts made by several presiding elders to get changes in various appointments, Bishop Keener thought at first that this was simply another effort for change. Realizing the absolute necessity for some change, I myself wrote to Bishop Keener a statement of the exact facts in the case, and asked that some adjustment be made by which the former pastor could remain at the charge. Promptly upon receipt of the letter, Bishop Keener wired authorizing an exchange in appointments. As I had never unpacked my trunks, I went immediately to Farmville, where I had a truly delightful pastorate for nearly three

years. I was then twenty-seven years old, probably the youngest pastor the church had ever had. . . .

The return to the heart of Southside Virginia was very pleasing. The people were similar to those on Charlotte Circuit, and many of them had relatives in Charlotte. The money crop of Southside Virginia was tobacco, and Farmville had a strong tobacco market competing with Lynchburg and Petersburg. The principal businessmen were what were called in those days "commission merchants." They loaned money and furnished supplies to farmers, waiting until the sale of tobacco for repayment of money and supplies advanced. This was not a good system, but it had grown up through many years. While it is capable of great abuses and can be very oppressive to the borrower, most of the commission merchants in Farmville were men of genuine Christian character with good reputation for justice and fair play, and most of them leading members in the churches.

The Methodist church was the best located in the community. The building was comparatively new and very handsome for that time, seating, with the gallery and choir loft, between three and four hundred people. . . . The church membership was composed, as a whole, of substantial, well-to-do people. The poor list was very small. The congregation was of more than average intelligence and devotion to their church. There were some devout, spiritually minded people among both the more prosperous and the poorer membership of the church. The church had never been sprung to measure up to its real capacity, but had been content to provide necessities and some comforts for the pastor, and to meet the assessments for the Conference collections. The chairman of the Board of Stewards was a prosperous, largehearted, generous man, who willingly responded to every effort for a forward movement, and most of the board, especially the younger men, wanted to do more than the church had ever done. But there were some who held back and were not enthusiastic about any proposition which involved increased giving.

The treasurer of the church had been a steward for over thirty years and the treasurer for many years. He was a man of unimpeachable moral character. The church was probably first in his thoughts, but he considered one of his principal duties to the church to be that of a real watchdog of the treasury. He had never been able to absorb the idea that the salaries of the pastor and the presiding elder were as much debts of the church as insurance, sexton's hire, coal bill, repairs, etc. These latter were debts, the other was a promise to pay whenever the money could be raised. It was, therefore, his habit as treasurer of the

church to pay all the incidental bills at the beginning of the Conference year, and let the pastor wait until everything else was paid. For some reason, he seemed to prefer to keep the pastor on short rations during the year, and at the end of the year to give him a large check with a bow and a smile. Many of the stewards recognized very fully the characteristics of the treasurer, but he was a difficult person to tackle as he was inclined to be short and crusty with anybody who questioned his methods; while they did not approve of these methods, yet he was so honest and had held his position so long that they disliked to do or say anything that would wound his feelings. . . .

While in Farmville I had my first taste of what afterward became the greatest work of my life. The State Normal School was directly across from the Methodist Church. A large proportion of the students were from Methodist families, and, as the year went on, the girls came in ever-increasing numbers until the church was filled except during the vacation months of the school. This large proportion of students in my congregation greatly affected the matter and the manner of my preaching. I learned that whenever a message is so framed and delivered as to reach young people, it will be good for the rest of the congregation.

Before very long, continuous pastoral visitation made the pastor and the people feel that they knew each other when they met at church service on Sunday. Because of these personal contacts, men and women [who] had been simply Sunday morning churchgoers, now came both morning and night. Recognizing, however, that I was preaching to a conservative group of people, I made no great effort for an ingathering until the second winter. Then, after two or three Sundays of preparation, I began a series of meetings which continued with ever-increasing power for over three weeks. The church membership had been stirred by twelve months of direct gospel preaching, and when the time came to reap the harvest of the sowing, it was delightful to find so many of the members who had never done any personal work before gladly attempting to do whatever they could. A number of men in business life and a large number of younger people, both from the town and from the college, came to the altar and made profession of faith. It was the largest ingathering the church had had for many years, and there was a quickening of the life of the church which continued throughout my pastorate.

One of the men who desired to be admitted into the church on profession of faith was a large, heavy-built man, weighing over two hundred pounds. I announced that I would receive members into the

church on a certain Sunday and that I wished to talk with all who desired to join. When the stout brother came, he requested to be baptized by immersion, and in a running stream of water, for, he said, John the Baptist baptized our Lord in the River Jordan, a running stream. The Methodist Church believes that the mode of baptism is entirely nonessential and, therefore, its ministers baptize in whatever way the candidate desires.

The only running stream close to Farmville is the Appomattox River, the water of which was diverted to run a large flour mill, and the only place on the banks which could be reached was a short distance down from the mill hole. That seemed to be the only convenient place, and one Sunday afternoon the young pastor, weighing less than one hundred forty pounds, attempted to immerse the round and weighty brother. Some of the stewards protested against the baptism at that spot as dangerous, but after careful examination it was clear that the most that could happen would be that both the pastor and the candidate might lose their footing and be swept down into the shallow water, which, while not very dignified, would not likely be very dangerous. Two of the stewards, however, clad themselves in high rubber boots and prepared to lend their assistance.

I realized that the service was very solemn to the candidate and did everything possible to produce a serious impression upon the large crowd assembled on the bank. Although I had told the candidate most earnestly to make no struggle while in the water, this advice was not heeded. When the time came for the act of immersion, I found myself struggling with a frightened, unwieldy man who could not regain his footing, but would have been swept down the river, dragging me with him, had not the two stewards stepped promptly into the water and brought us to the shore. Having in mind that something of the kind might happen, I had arranged for the choir to sing "O Happy Day Which Fixed My Choice," which they did very promptly, the whole crowd on the bank joining in, and the serious character of the ceremony was saved. The candidate became an earnest, devoted member of the church and my lifelong friend.

I felt that the time had come to spring the church to a higher level in its offerings for work outside of its own community. I knew that it would be necessary to take the matter up first and work it through the Board of Stewards. In the second Conference year the treasurer had followed his usual custom of paying everything else before he paid the pastor anything, and only twenty dollars had been paid before Christmas. A meeting of the Board of Stewards had been called to meet after

prayer meeting on the Wednesday night before Christmas. I had bought a very serviceable sack suit of clothes while at Princeton, cut a little shorter than the ordinary clerical sack suit. At the stewards' meeting after the prayer meeting service was over, the treasurer, who did not approve of such informal dressing by the pastor, especially when conducting the service, said in crusty fashion, "I see the little brother tonight has on a short jacket in which to preach the word of God." The whole board sat up to listen. Very quietly but deliberately I said:

I wish the treasurer was as much concerned about the shortness of my salary as he is about the shortness of my coat. I have had the magnificent sum of twenty dollars during the past five weeks, whereas I am sure the treasurer has received two or three hundred dollars. I think the time has come for the Board of Stewards to recognize that the promise to pay the pastor is just as much a promise in the sight of God as is the promise to pay the insurance, the electric light bills, the coal bills, and other obligations of the church. I do not think the pastor should be a preferred creditor, but I think he should at least be on an equal basis with other obligations of the church. I hope, when I leave this church, it will have established a custom to pay the pastor weekly, or at least monthly, just as many of you men are paid your salaries. Your present pastor can live. [Neither] he nor his family will starve, but he believes that this church should be run on a normal business basis, just as was the church at Newport News from which he came.

The chairman of the board leaned forward on his cane and said, "... the little preacher is right, and I hope someone will make a motion that from this time on the treasurer is to put the claim of the pastor as equal to every other claim, and to pay him his salary the first of every month." The treasurer was too much disgusted and chagrined to recover himself. The motion was made by one of the younger brethren and voted for by the whole board, except the treasurer. Certainly nobody voted in the negative. . . .

We formed some of the closest friendships of our lives with members of the Farmville church.⁴ As has been indicated, they were a homogeneous, high-type group of Southern men and women, with but one Northern man of any prominence in the community. He, like most sensible Northern people when they move South, had himself become fully Southern in his viewpoint. There were few people in Farmville who were violent in their expressions or who thought that "dam' Yankee" was one word. Like most genuine Southerners, they believed firmly that the South was right, and that Lee's army not only

4. Two sons were born in Farmville, James III in November, 1892, and Wallace Bennett, September, 1894. A second daughter, Virginia, had been born in 1891 while the Cannons were at Newport News. The other children who lived past infancy were Richard M., David P., and Edward L. Lura Lee, previously mentioned, was the eldest child.

never had been beaten in any fair fight, but that the Yankees never could have beaten them, had they not dragged in all the foreign elements possible and compelled Lee to surrender by an army overpowering in numbers.

While all my home training had been intensely Southern, my three years at Princeton had brought me into contact with Northern men of the highest type. I had learned to understand their viewpoint and knew that respect, even admiration, for the South and its people was very common among the best of them. At the Ecumenical Conference in Washington, while I disagreed very positively with many things which were said, I began to visualize and long for a more united Methodist effort for the evangelization of the United States and of the world. So in the homes of the most intelligent, broadminded of my people, I frequently discussed the necessity for a more careful discrimination in forming estimates of men. I insisted that the greatest block to progress was ignorance, that dislike and denunciation of people in mass would be greatly softened by contacts with individuals. But it was not easy to change the sentiment of men and women whose fathers and brothers and sons had been killed in the War, and whose plantations had been swept bare by Grant's army as it passed through on its way to Appomattox. . . .

In 1893 the Farmville District Conference voted to establish a monthly district newspaper, the *Farmville District Methodist*, and requested me to act as editor and publisher. I requested the Reverend L. S. Reed and the Reverend Thomas H. Campbell, the presiding elder, to be associate editors. While I had done some writing for newspapers and magazines before, this was the beginning of my editorial work, which continued uninterruptedly from the summer of 1893 until the first of December, 1918—twenty-five years. It was the beginning of a new era in my work. While placing a high estimate on the work of the preacher and the pastor, yet after a careful estimate of the results of twenty-five years of preaching and teaching through the printed page, I am fully satisfied that I could never have accomplished what I tried to do in educational, social, and church activities generally, had it not been that I was the editor of a paper which I owned and controlled, and through which my voice could be heard in attacking evil and in supporting the good. My paper was my right arm of power throughout the twenty-five years, and it is difficult to consider my other work properly without recognizing from time to time the primary importance and great help of the newspapers which I controlled.

Almost immediately after the establishment of the paper, I declared,

as my editorial policy, that in addition to furnishing local news of the churches throughout the District, general church news, and a medium for discussion of church work and doctrine, the paper would emphasize especially the great causes of education, prohibition, and missions. My position on all these subjects was well known to my own congregation, as I had discussed all of them freely in my pulpit and had urged the closing of the saloons in Farmville. I had appeared before the town council and asked for action against the saloons, and now, under the heading "Forefront of the Battle," I printed facts and figures showing the evil results of the traffic, and writing as strong editorials as I could write against it.

In my efforts to close the Farmville saloons I first faced the solidarity of the liquor traffic. The State Liquor Dealers' Association sent their attorney for the state of Virginia to Farmville to help defend the saloons. In a community of that kind, the attacks upon local ministers by liquor attorneys were somewhat carefully guarded, the principal argument being that ministers should confine themselves to the preaching of the gospel and leave business and political questions for the citizens to settle. I countered with the fact that the liquor traffic meddled with my business, that I was printing a newspaper, and that my printers got intoxicating liquors at the saloons in the town, which rendered them inefficient, delayed the issuing of the paper, and increased the expense of publication. This was the beginning of an open warfare with the organized liquor traffic, which has continued with ever-increasing intensity for over forty years. . . .

In May, 1894, the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, was held in the city of Memphis, and the Farmville church voted the pastor a holiday and a purse that he might attend the Conference. The circulation of the *Farmville District Methodist* among all the preachers and the leading laymen of the Virginia Conference, and among the editorial offices of all Southern Methodist newspapers, had made my name known to those who had seen and read the paper, so that I not only had a seat at the correspondents' table, but many members of the Conference came up and greeted me by name.

Bishop McTyeire had died, and Bishop Keener was now the senior Bishop. He had aged somewhat, but the great personality was still active, and when stirred he still spoke with great force and power. He was called home from the General Conference to attend the funeral of his daughter, but returned and preached the next Sunday on the text, "And it is easier for heaven and earth to pass, than one tittle of the law to fail." The text was used as a connecting link between the great

parables of the prodigal son, the unjust steward, and the rich man and Lazarus. The picture of the contrasts, of the possibilities of life, and of the necessary results that flow from conduct, were vivid, realistic, startling, and overwhelming. There was, in my opinion, no preaching equal to it at that General Conference. . . .

The most disturbing matter . . . [to come before the Conference] was the trial of Bishop R. K. Hargrove for maladministration in the case of Dr. D. C. Kelley. Dr. Kelley had been a missionary in China and was later missionary secretary. When I was a student at Randolph-Macon, Dr. Kelley made an address at the Virginia Conference in Richmond, which I have always thought to have been one of the finest missionary appeals I have ever heard. Dr. Kelley was nominated to run for governor of Tennessee on a prohibition ticket and resigned his charge to campaign the state. Bishop Hargrove, in charge of the Tennessee Conference, was instrumental in having him put on trial and found guilty of leaving his charge without permission. The case was appealed to the General Conference, and charges brought against Bishop Hargrove's administration. The result was a deadfall; the verdict against Kelley was reversed, and the charge against Bishop Hargrove's administration was dismissed.

The outstanding figure in the General Conference [1894] was Dr. W. W. Smith, Chancellor of the Randolph-Macon system of schools and colleges.⁵ At that General Conference he first loomed large before the church as its greatest educational leader. The organization of a General Board of Education was the issue. The battle of contracted, provincial, educational policies as over against a broad church-wide policy was fought out both in committee and on the General Conference floor, and Dr. Smith was the plumed knight who led to victory the believers in the church-wide policy. The leading opponent of the new plan was Dr. Warren A. Candler of Georgia, a brilliant and successful president of Emory College.⁶ Dr. Candler was entirely sincere in his attitude, but the General Conference disagreed with him, and with great unanimity

5. William Waugh Smith (1845-1912) was twice wounded while in the Confederate Army, taught at Randolph-Macon from 1878 to 1886, and served as president from 1886 to 1897. He was chancellor of the Randolph-Macon System of Colleges and Academies from then until his death.

6. Warren A. Candler (1857-1941) entered the North Georgia Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South (1875). He served as president of Emory College from 1888 to 1898, was elected bishop, Methodist Episcopal Church, South, in 1898 and chancellor of Emory University in 1914. He served in both capacities until his retirement from the chancellorship in 1922. He remained active as bishop until 1934 (Alfred M. Pierce, *Giant Against the Sky: The Life of Bishop Warren Akin Candler*, New York: Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1948).

Dr. Smith was elected first General Secretary of Education. I followed with keen interest the debates in the committees and on the floor of the General Conference on the question of education, and they had a great influence upon the decision which I was called upon to make a few weeks later on.

Numerous contacts were made at that General Conference with men from different sections of the Church, and men who had formerly been nothing but names were now clothed with flesh and blood, and I could make more accurate estimates of their personalities. John R. Pepper was already the leading layman of the First Methodist Church at Memphis, where the General Conference was held. A native of Southwest Virginia, he had come to Memphis when quite a young man, had thrown himself at once into active church work, and had already been the superintendent of the First Church Sunday School for many years.⁷ He will be mentioned later on. But at that General Conference, after being entertained in his home, I placed John R. Pepper in the very front of Methodist laymen. He was not only diligent about the King's business and devoted to the Church, but intelligent, broad-minded, wise in counsel, and above all, a really lovable man. We have never had, to my knowledge, any other layman in our Methodism who combined such qualities in equal measure. The acquaintance made at that General Conference later became more intimate by close association in important church undertakings and developed into a warm friendship continuing until Mr. Pepper's death.

Upon my return from the General Conference, I printed an account of the Conference proceedings in which I wrote with rather unusual plainness concerning both persons and things. Some descriptions of what occurred and some characterizations of individuals, while enjoyed and appreciated by some as frank reports, were not appreciated by some others; and the article created much comment throughout the Church. Indeed, nearly ten years later, one of the brethren whom I had pictured quite faithfully, "including the wart" in the picture, came to the Virginia Conference and discussed with me certain policies on which we were agreed. He told me then that he had been quite indignant when he had read my characterization, but that when he showed it to his wife, she told him, "He ought not to have said it in print, but he told the truth, and you can and should rid yourself of the defects he mentions."

Shortly after my return from the General Conference I received a

7. John Robertson Pepper (1850-1931), a wholesale grocer and president of grocery stores in Greenville, Greenwood, Yazoo City, and Rosedale, Mississippi, was author of various books on Sunday School work.

visit from George P. Adams, a member of the Blackstone Methodist Church and a trustee of the corporation which had been granted a charter to build and maintain a training school at Blackstone, Virginia. The Reverend Joshua S. Hunter, a former presiding elder of the Farmville District, was probably the originator of the plan to build a training school at Blackstone under the auspices of the Methodist Church, to be owned and controlled by the Farmville District Conference through a board of trustees selected by that Conference. A site of six acres of land and five thousand dollars had been contributed by the Blackstone Land Company, and the citizens of Blackstone and the near-by Methodist circuits had also contributed to the fund. The trustees had erected and roofed in the hull of a brick building, but the money ran out, the work had ceased, and the building's windows and doors had been boarded up. It seemed as though the effort was doomed to failure. The trustees [had then] voted to issue \$8,000 worth of \$100.00 bonds, the most of which had been placed with great effort, and work was begun again.

The trustees met and decided that some man must be found who had sufficient money and credit to enable him to furnish the building with proper equipment when finished and to assume the responsibility of employment of a faculty and of meeting the expenses of running the school. When Mr. Adams presented the matter to me, I agreed to consider it, but gave little assurance of acceptance of the position offered. A visit was made to Blackstone, and a conference was had with the Executive Committee of the Board of Trustees, after which I felt under a strong obligation to study thoroughly the proposed opportunity and responsibility.

From a financial standpoint there was nothing inviting. It would require the investment of all of my money and credit to make even a fair trial of the school. The building was fairly well-planned, but the funds available would complete only the first and second floors. It would require the expenditure of a considerable sum of money to make the grounds attractive. There was no money to purchase necessary equipment for schoolrooms, bedrooms, dining room, and kitchen. There was a bonded debt of eight thousand dollars, with interest of four hundred eighty dollars annually, which would have to be paid from the earnings of the school. It would require cash and credit to get the school in shape and run it for the first year, and I would have to depend upon current receipts to help meet current bills.

[I] . . . was to start with no nucleus for a faculty. Teachers must be found, and with sufficient qualifications to make the prospectus of the school attractive. The student body, outside of a group of girls from

the community, must be literally hand-picked. The town of Blackstone was not sufficiently attractive or well-known to make the location of the school a drawing card. Not one of my close friends desired me to undertake that work. Some few thought that it might be well enough for me to engage in church-school work, but under favorable conditions, and with no such heavy responsibility, or with such possibilities of failure. Nearly all my friends opposed my going into school work at all, and insisted that results had demonstrated that I should remain in the pastorate.

My father was greatly distressed at the idea and wrote protesting against what he called a "preposterous undertaking." He emphasized the training for the ministry which he had tried to help his son to secure. He emphasized the high esteem in which I had been held in all three of the charges which I had served. If the pastorate was to be given up for school work, he emphasized the undesirability of the educational work which had been offered. He deplored the idea of attempting to run a small boarding school in the "piney woods" at the edge of a small country town. And finally, he emphasized the duty which a husband and father owed to his wife and children, to see to it that they were properly clothed and had the comforts of life. My father's letters gave me more concern than the views of anybody or anything.

But there were certain factors in the proposition which appealed very strongly to me. While difficulties were great, they put me on my mettle. There was the opportunity to build an institution on my own and not on another man's foundation. The contract proposed by the trustees gave me absolute authority in the selection of the faculty, the formulation of the course of study, the charges for tuition and board, the method of discipline, and the relation of the institution to the Church, the charter providing that the trustees must be elected or confirmed by the Farmville District Conference.

There was, indeed, as I saw it, great opportunity for a life work. The question I had to decide was whether the possibilities of success were sufficiently great to run what seemed to many to be the imminent risk of failure, which would sweep away all my earnings and which would brand me as a man of poor judgment following a will-of-the-wisp into a hopeless quagmire. My wife and I fought it through, made it a matter of earnest prayer, and finally decided that if satisfactory arrangements could be made to care for the church in Farmville, the Blackstone proposition would be accepted.

The Farmville Board of Stewards were cold to the proposition. They could hardly believe that I had really decided that it was worthy of serious

consideration, and it was not until the second meeting that they reluctantly voted to release me for part of my time until Conference, with the understanding that I would secure a satisfactory assistant. The Reverend Richard H. Bennett, the brother of Mrs. Cannon, was secured to work as assistant pastor at Farmville until Conference. His personality and his preaching were both so satisfactory that the absence of the pastor most of the time did not call forth much criticism or complaint. I returned for the last two Sundays of the Conference year, made up the reports for Conference, packed my books and household goods, and with my wife and four children closed another delightful pastorate, and, as it turned out, wound up my experiences as a pastor of the church.

IV. General Church Activities

Many of the writer's activities cannot be classified as pastoral, educational, editorial, social reform, or episcopal so that it has seemed proper to refer to these activities in this separate chapter. . . .

FROM THE TIME I accepted the call to preach in 1882, I studied the work of the Church not only in the Annual Conference in which I lived, not only throughout the bounds of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, but throughout the world. I read regularly the papers and magazines which gave information, and discussed questions concerning the Church. I fully realized that whatever worth-while contribution I was to make to the world in which I lived must be made chiefly through the Christian Church, and especially through the denomination to which I belonged. . . . Only a living, active, earnest, aggressive Church could accomplish its large purposes in the world. The reason for the Church, the activities of the Church, the failures and successes of the Church were questions of the greatest moment.

I have attended every General Conference except one (1890) since I was licensed to preach. I have attended six General Conferences of the Methodist Church, three Ecumenical Methodist Conferences, the World Conference on Faith and Order at Lausanne, the World Conference on Life and Work at Stockholm, and the meetings of the Continuation Committees of these last-named bodies every year since 1920, going to Europe every summer for that purpose. I attended the initial gathering projecting the Federal Council of Churches in Carnegie Hall in 1904, and I have attended every meeting of the Federal Council since that time. I have learned at first hand the men and the work, not only of my own Church, but of national and world organizations.

Since I had read and posted myself, it was only natural that when, in any body of which I was a member, it became evident that the facts concerning any matter with which I was acquainted were not known to the body, or when the views or convictions which I personally held were unmentioned or ignored, I should feel it to be my duty as a member of the body to give the facts or to utter my convictions. Thus it came

to pass, at rather an early age, I began to speak, first in the District, and then in the Annual Conferences.

Having been called to the work at Blackstone in the sixth year of my itinerant ministry, I found it necessary to speak on education, on Blackstone in particular, at all the District Conferences and at the Annual Conference. My college and seminary training had taught me to think upon my feet. I never rose to speak simply from the desire to inject myself into a discussion for publicity purposes, but only when I believed that I had some real contribution to make to the discussion. Others might think that I had nothing worth while to say, but I always knew what I wanted to say, and thought that it ought to be said. So I was found supporting or opposing motions made by others, or making motions and introducing resolutions on my own account. By the time I had been in the Annual Conference ten years, the objection to my activity in Conference proceedings on account of my youth had worn away, except among some of the older brethren who wanted to adhere strictly to the traditions of the elders.

In 1897 . . . I was active in support of the memorial to the General Conference limiting the term of a presiding elder to four years successively. This memorial was strongly opposed by the friends of the [presiding] elders of the Virginia Conference, who had been in the eldership from twenty to thirty years without a break. I not only fought for the memorial on the Conference floor, but emphasized the importance of the legislation in the columns of the [*Southern Methodist*] *Recorder*. The memorial was defeated in the General Conference, but the Virginia Conference passed the memorial a number of times, and the principle was finally incorporated into the law of the Church by the General Conference of 1934. I think, however, that the 1934 legislation is more drastic than it should be in its prohibition of return to the eldership until after four years.

At that same Conference I advocated a memorial to give to all preachers in charge the right to baptize and to administer the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, holding that the commission to preach should include the minor duties of the preacher in charge.

Some years later on, I advocated a memorial for the removal of the four-year time limit of the pastorate, and although the legislation was defeated in the General Conference several times, it was finally approved, and the churches had the benefit of many successful long-term pastorates.

To the surprise of my friends who knew I did not use tobacco in any form, I strongly opposed the legislation requiring applicants for admission on trial to abstain from the use of tobacco. I held that the

legislation should go no further than strongly to advise against the use of tobacco in any form. I do not believe that such a requirement should be made a decisive factor in determining a man's call to preach and his certification by the church.

In all legislation on church policy I have favored progressive legislation.

It was at the General Conference at Dallas in 1902 that I first came prominently before the Church at large. When the general facts concerning the war claim of the Methodist Publishing House had been published in the secular press, I made a thorough investigation of every phase of the question, studying the report of the Senate investigation, consulting with leading senators and others, in an endeavor to get to the bottom of a distressing affair. Having gotten what I believed to be the true facts, I set them forth fully and plainly, without palliation or excuse of any kind, in the columns of the *Recorder* [in 1898]. I emphasized the humiliation which had been brought upon the Church, not only by Mr. [E. B.] Stahlman as attorney, but also by the book agents and later by the book committee.¹

For three years the battle raged. At the session of the Virginia Conference at Newport News in 1901, Dr. E. E. Hoss, editor of the *Nashville Advocate*, was present and made an address in which he made a reference to publications in the *Recorder* which he declared had treated him unfairly.² To this statement I replied, stating exactly what I had said and denying that there was anything unfair or improper in any way. The Reverend Henry C. Cheatham, one of the oldest members of the Conference, arose and protested against the statements made by Dr. Hoss as improper from a guest of the Annual Conference. Dr. Hoss

1. Following the Civil War officials of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, attempted to secure from Congress the payment of \$288,000 in damages caused by Northern troops to the Church's Publishing House property at Nashville. Congress admitted the damage but denied a legal obligation to pay on the grounds that the property destroyed was enemy property. However, in 1898 a bill authorizing payment of the damages was passed, in large part because of the sympathy of various congressmen for the church. The money was to be set up as a special fund. It was then discovered that the book agents of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, had made an agreement to pay a lawyer and lobbyist, one E. B. Stahlman, 35 per cent of the claim if it were collected, a fact which had been more or less successfully hidden from Congress. The gist of the recommendation of Cannon's minority report was that the entire \$288,000 be returned to the U. S. Government (Minority Report of Committee on Public Interests on War Claims, presented to the General Conference on May 17, 1902, Cannon MSS).

2. Elizah Embree Hoss (1849-1919) was president of Martha Washington College, 1876-1881, and president of Emory and Henry College, 1881-1885. He then became Professor of Ecclesiastical History at Vanderbilt University and served as editor of the *Nashville Christian Advocate* from 1890 to 1902. He was elected bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, in May, 1902.

took his seat, and although requested to continue his address, declined to do so. The next day I was elected a delegate to the General Conference, ranking above all the men against whose methods I had written so severely in the *Recorder* in 1898. This election was the first time that the Conference had an opportunity really to express itself concerning the methods employed in the General Conference elections of 1897, which I had attacked so sharply in the *Recorder* in 1898.

When the General Conference met, I was appointed by the Virginia delegation to represent it on the committee on publishing interest which had before it the question of the war claim. Many hours and days of the General Conference session were given to a thorough examination, not only of the written documents, but of persons involved in the transactions. On that committee I wielded the laboring oar against the methods employed by Mr. Stahlman, the book agents, and the book committee. When the investigation was concluded, the committee was divided in its judgment. A small majority favored a report which was not as sweeping in its condemnation of the transaction or in the final action proposed to be taken as the minority, of which I was one, thought it should be. I was therefore selected by the minority to draw up a report expressive of its views.

The report which I prepared included a thorough review of all the facts, analyzing the circumstances surrounding the transaction, apportioning blame upon all the participants, and calling for the adoption of resolutions which would clear forever the good name of the Church from even the most virulent critic. When the two reports—the majority and the minority—were brought before the General Conference, there was intense interest. It was recognized that it was a historic hour in the life of the Church. Not only was the question to be settled of interest to the entire Methodist Episcopal Church, South, but every church body in the nation was deeply concerned. The secular press throughout the country had been turning a spotlight on the war-claim issue from the beginning of the General Conference session. Every seat in the auditorium was taken, and a great number besides were standing up.

The majority report was first read, a brief document requiring only a few minutes. The minority report required a full hour for the reading. I read it without haste, clearly, and distinctly, so that it was heard by everyone present. Not a sound was heard during the entire reading. One of the bishops, who sat on the platform with the Conference in full view, stated in facetious words at the close of the session, "The opponents of the report swallowed and swallowed, and spit cotton."

At the close of the reading the usual motion was made to sub-

stitute the minority for the majority report, and to print them both in the *Daily Christian Advocate*. At this juncture Dr. E. E. Hoss arose and declared that he had been advised by a competent lawyer that the report was libelous under the laws of the state of Texas, and that he would resign as editor of the *Daily Advocate* for that day. Judge Samuel B. Adams, a very prominent attorney from Savannah, Georgia, arose and asked that he be given the privilege of acting as editor. It was then announced that the firm which had the contract for the printing of the *Daily Advocate* had stated that it declined to set up and print the minority report. It could not run the risk of a suit for libel.

Immediately after the adjournment of the session one of the most prominent lawyers in Texas, who had heard the entire report, came to me and stated that there was nothing whatever libelous in the report, and that he would find a printer who would agree to print it promptly. A printer was found who also had been present when the report was read, and I made a contract with him at once to print two thousand copies of the minority report. This contract was kept secret. It was announced around the hotel lobbies and at the auditorium that night that all the printers in Dallas had refused to print the report. But the next morning, greatly to the astonishment of all but a few who were in the secret, the minority report was in the seat of every delegate, and an ample supply was on hand for visitors.

The reading of the minority report was a death blow to the majority report, but there was not a majority in favor of the adoption of the [minority] report. So a group of delegates who said that they stood on a middle ground met and prepared resolutions, presented them to the General Conference, and they were, in substance, finally adopted.

While pleased that the minority report had prevented the adoption of the majority report, I was not satisfied with the report that was adopted. I did not think that it protected sufficiently the honor of the Church, and frankly declared my dissatisfaction both at the General Conference and in the *Recorder*.³ I have always regarded the minority report as probably the best analytical work I have ever done. While regretting that it did not receive a majority vote of the General Con-

3. Cannon's information here seems to be factually correct. It should be noted that it differs in detail from the account in Virginius Dabney, *Dry Messiah* (New York: Knopf, 1949), p. 31. See the *Daily Christian Advocate*, May 21 and 22, 1902. The so-called compromise resolutions acquitted "the Church of all blame in the matter," censured the action of its agents, provided that no further attempts be made to restore the money to the government, but that the Church itself raise the amount "necessary to restore the fund to what it was originally intended to be" (*Baltimore and Richmond Christian Advocate*, May 29, 1902).

ference, I was greatly gratified that a large majority of the outstanding leaders in the Conference voted for the report on a recorded Aye and Nay vote. . . .

On January 1, 1904, when the *Baltimore and Richmond Christian Advocate* and the *Southern Methodist Recorder* were consolidated, I was appointed to be the editor. I discussed editorially the general activities of the Church more than I had done heretofore. I realized that my responsibility had broadened, and that what I had to say would of necessity carry farther than it did in the *Recorder*.

In 1905 the Virginia Conference elected me as second man in the delegation to the General Conference, the first place going by two votes to Dr. J. T. Whitehead, who, it was recognized, would not likely be able to attend another General Conference after that of 1906. At that General Conference I sat side by side with Dr. Whitehead most of the time, and we got closer together in thought and feeling than since the early years. . . . At that General Conference I helped for the first time to prepare the report on temperance; and ever afterward, up to 1934, I either helped to write the report presented to the General Conference, or, as chairman of the Board of Temperance and Social Service, I wrote the report of that board.

In the General Conference of 1906 Dr. W. F. Tillett⁴ made a motion for the establishment of a commission to be appointed by the College of Bishops to consider the question of drawing up a new statement of faith for the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, requesting the co-operation of the Methodist Episcopal Church in such work. While I was entirely loyal to the twenty-five articles of religion as contained in the *Methodist Discipline*, yet I believed that the twenty-five articles were silent on some very important questions. I declared that the new statement should stress the love of God, the work of the Holy Spirit, the privilege of Christian perfection, the great command of the Master to preach the Gospel to every creature, and other important doctrines.

I was greatly amazed when the bishops appointed, as the commission, Bishop A. W. Wilson, Dr. Collins Denny, Dr. R. H. Mahon, Dr. W. F. Tillett, and Dr. O. E. Brown; and I did not hesitate to write editorially very plainly and positively in the *Advocate*. I emphasized the fact that the first three members of the commission had declared their opposition to the restatement proposal on the floor of the General Conference,

4. Wilbur Fisk Tillett (1854-1936), a native of North Carolina, was dean of the theology faculty and vice-chancellor of Vanderbilt University from 1886 to 1919. He was the author of "Al Smith and Fair Play" which was "A Plea for Religious Tolerance."

Bishop Wilson himself having, upon request of the General Conference, stated his opposition. Discussing the action of the bishops, I said:

If such a thing has ever been done before in any body of any importance, this editor has never heard of it. No special criticism would be made of the appointment of Bishop Wilson as chairman of the Commission, for as Senior Bishop of the Church, it might be recognized as proper that he should preside over the Commission. Candor compels the statement that the bishops made a mistake in constituting the Commission where the majority would be hostile to the work they are appointed to perform.

I further insisted that it was not fair to men who spoke in opposition to the action taken to charge them with the duty of bringing to a successful issue a movement which they desired to see fail. On the other hand, it was not fair to the majority of the General Conference to appoint men to carry out their views who did not agree with their views. I insisted that two of the members of the commission who were opposed to the action of the General Conference promptly resign and allow men to be appointed who could conscientiously and enthusiastically support the action of the General Conference. When the opponents of the new statement declared that the movement was the work of professors, I editorially analyzed the vote of the General Conference, and proved that a majority of the presiding elders and also the pastors present at the General Conference voted for the action, as did a majority of the editors and of the connectional officers. While there was no possible answer to my charge of the improper composition of the commission, none of the members resigned; and with such a commission it is not surprising that nothing was done.

Concerning my work at the General Conference at Birmingham, Bishop Collins Denny testified in a deposition given in 1913 in the Randolph-Macon case, that Dr. W. W. Smith, himself an outstanding leader in the General Conference, told him in Nashville that "Cannon was considered to be the ablest man in the General Conference of 1906." . . . However correct such an opinion may have been, it is doubtless true that my work at that General Conference attracted the attention of the Church, as indicative of versatility and accuracy of thought and expression.

In the spring of 1907 I attended with Dr. [W. W.] Smith a meeting of the General Board of Education at St. Louis. . . .⁵

From St. Louis Dr. Smith and I went to Hot Springs, Arkansas, for a few days, and from there to Mexico City via Laredo and Monterrey.

5. W. W. Smith had been elected to the General Board of Education in 1906. Cannon apparently took his place in 1910, and remained on the board until 1930.

... On this trip Dr. Smith urged me to agree to accept the presidency of Randolph-Macon Woman's College, stating that he desired, if I would accept the place, to resign and devote himself to work as an educational advisor. I expressed my appreciation of Dr. Smith's great confidence in me, but said that I preferred to continue at the school whose foundation I had laid, and which I had built up. I asked Dr. Smith from what source he would receive his salary should he resign the presidency of the Woman's College. Dr. Smith replied that that was a matter that could be easily arranged. I little dreamed that the matter had been arranged the previous summer by the action of the Randolph-Macon Board of Trustees in adopting a resolution qualifying the Randolph-Macon schools to participate in the benefits of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching. The year before, Dr. Smith had discussed the Carnegie question with me in a general way, and I had expressed myself very positively that it would be impossible for Randolph-Macon ever to participate in the Carnegie teachers' pensions. The matter was not discussed at any great length, but I was so positive in my position that Dr. Smith realized that he would not be able to convince me.

It was therefore like a thunderclap out of a clear sky when I first heard in the fall of 1907 that the Randolph-Macon Board of Trustees had taken action to qualify for participation in the Carnegie Pension Fund. . . . When I first learned what the Randolph-Macon board had done, I was at the Woman's College. I immediately took the matter up with Dr. Smith, and we discussed it back and forth for several hours. The next day I told Dr. Smith that, unless he could give assurance that the Board of Trustees would rescind the action, I would be obliged to bring the matter before the Virginia Conference at its annual session a few weeks later. Against this Dr. Smith most vigorously protested, insisting that it was a matter for the trustees alone to decide, and not in any sense a responsibility of the Conference. . . .

Before the meeting of the Virginia Conference [in 1907], I had a long talk with Bishop Charles B. Galloway,⁶ who was to preside, and outlined to him the course which I proposed to follow. I was so perturbed that I discussed the matter only briefly with some of my closest friends. Following my invariable custom of trying to get all possible information, I wrote to Dr. Henry S. Pritchett, secretary of the Carnegie Foundation, laying before him the general facts as to the Randolph-

6. Charles Betts Galloway (see p. 51n. 18) was for many years president of the Prohibition Executive Committee in Mississippi.

Macon system and the reports which had been adopted by the Virginia and Baltimore Conferences since the resolution of 1906.⁷ I asked Dr. Pritchett [for] an interpretation of the meaning and scope of the action of the Randolph-Macon trustees. Fortunately, Dr. Pritchett had finished preparation of his annual report, and had unbound copies of it in his office. He sent a copy of his report to me, which reached Petersburg, the seat of the Virginia Conference session, the day after I introduced my resolutions and made my opening speech.

That opening speech was between four and five hours long, consuming a large part of the morning session and of the afternoon session. It took the Conference completely by surprise. Of course, the Board of Trustees knew what action had been taken more than a year before, but no publication had been made of the action, and the Conference was in ignorance. In view of the close friendship existing between Dr. Smith and myself, it was recognized at once that the matter must be of grave importance or I would never have brought it before the Conference.

At the conclusion of my speech, Dr. Smith made partial reply, including some statements which were puzzling to me, as I had received no facts from Dr. Pritchett. The next day being Sunday, Dr. Smith returned to Lynchburg, where he found a copy of Dr. Pritchett's report. I had also received a copy of the report by special-delivery mail and had read and digested it very thoroughly. In my second speech I read Dr. Pritchett's report in full, over the protest of Dr. Smith, who insisted that it was a confidential document. But the Conference insisted upon the reading in full.

This was the beginning of a discussion which continued until after the death of Dr. W. W. Smith in November, 1913, and which was finally terminated by the dismissal of the injunction of the Circuit Court of Hanover County, which injunction had been secured by some of the Randolph-Macon trustees who had protested against the action taken by the board in 1912.

From the very beginning in 1907, the Virginia Conference, as a body, rang clear and true on the principal issue involved in the entire discussion, which, as I put it time and again, was a question of *sincerity*. I insisted that if the Carnegie resolution, as adopted by the board in 1906, was a correct statement as it was interpreted by the Carnegie Board, then all the past history of Randolph-Macon, the multitudinous

7. The "resolution of 1906" apparently refers to the action by the Randolph-Macon Board of Trustees in "adopting a resolution qualifying the Randolph-Macon schools to participate in the benefits of the Carnegie Foundation . . . by asserting that there were no denominational tests for selecting trustees" (*Minutes of Virginia Conference, M. E. Church, South, 1904-1908*, p. 68).

speeches of its representatives, trustees, presidents, professors, the declarations of Church ownership and control, insistence upon support of the college as the Conference child—all these were in contradiction of the meaning of the Carnegie resolution.⁸ I declared that the trustees and the chancellor had, whether intentionally or otherwise, betrayed the trust which they held for the Baltimore and Virginia Conferences.

Dr. Smith endeavored to justify his position and disclaimed positively that he had done anything subversive of the rights of the Conferences, and that all the speeches that he had ever made were entirely consistent with the Carnegie resolution. However, Dr. Pritchett, the secretary of the Carnegie Foundation, stated that such statements as had been made in the past concerning church ownership could no longer be made as consistent with the Carnegie resolution; and furthermore, he stated that the trustees could no longer be selected as was the rule, one-third from the Baltimore, two-thirds from the Virginia Conference.

The discussion was by far the most distressing experience which I had in my connection with the Virginia Conference. Some of my closest friends, preachers and laymen, with whom I had worked without a breach on other important matters and who had supported the positions I had taken, were alienated from me, some permanently. It was to be expected that a great leader like Dr. Smith, with his splendid record of service, should be strongly supported by many preachers and laymen who, without full investigation, were satisfied that he must be right. But wherever the case was fully argued, and all the facts set forth, the majority invariably supported my position and condemned the trustees.

Efforts were made by various parties to divert the Conference and the public from the main issue and to tie up the Randolph-Macon matter in some way with the management of Blackstone Institute and my personal affairs. But these efforts proved to be futile and, in the end, did not hurt me but helped me. The Blackstone Board of Trustees and the Farmville District Conference were stirred to action and strongly endorsed me, denying flatly the statements made by those who were attempting to draw a "red herring" across the track. These attacks, however, were so intensely personal, and so calculated, if believed, to destroy my reputation and influence, that I was finally obliged to write almost a full-page article in the *Richmond News Leader*, taking up in my usual fashion, seriatim, the statements which had been made in the press by my opponents, and giving answers which were apparently satisfactory, for no evident harm was done either to Blackstone Institute or to me personally.

8. *Ibid.*

Many pages could be filled with an account of the discussions which took place on the Conference floor and in the newspapers concerning the Carnegie resolutions. The Virginia Conference stood firmly by its position that the Randolph-Macon Board of Trustees must, first of all, rescind the Carnegie resolution, and, secondly, must agree to some method of the selection and confirmation of trustees such as would give the two Conferences a real voice in that matter. The trustees finally agreed to rescind the resolution and to give the Conference power of confirmation of trustees.

This action of the board, when put into effect, was strenuously resisted by a group of the trustees who secured an injunction to prevent the board from carrying out the proposed action as to confirmation of trustees. Many depositions were taken, some of them quite voluminous. . . .

In view of the circumstances, the background, and history of the case, Judge R. H. L. Chichester, presiding in the Circuit Court at Hanover, permitted Bishop Collins Denny and me to appear and present arguments in the case. At the conclusion of the hearing the injunction was dissolved, and a settlement which was agreed upon by the Conference and the trustees has remained in force until the present time.⁹

While this discussion was going on, the Virginia Conference elected me as chairman of the delegation from Virginia to the General Conference of 1910 held in Asheville, North Carolina. I was elected secretary of the Committee on Education, of which Judge E. C. O'Rear of Kentucky was chairman. This committee considered the report which had been made by the commission appointed to determine the relation of Vanderbilt University to the Church. On that question I found myself lined up with Bishop E. E. Hoss on the main issue of Church ownership and control of Vanderbilt University. I did not agree in some of the details with Bishop Hoss, but I did on the right of the General Conference to speak authoritatively as the controlling body of Vanderbilt University.

9. On Oct. 5, 1911, the Board of Trustees voted to rescind both the resolution of 1906 and a later resolution of June, 1909, which had given the Conferences the right to approve the election of trustees. It then resolved that when vacancies should occur on the board, one name for each vacancy would be submitted to the Conference having the vacancy. When the Conference approved the name, the Board of Trustees would elect him. Cannon's committee unanimously recommended that the Conference accept this as a final settlement (*The Virginia Conference Annual* . . . 129th Session, 1911, pp. 64-68). The dismissal of the injunction was considered by Cannon to have removed all obstacles to prior agreement (*ibid*, 131st Session, 1913, p. 70).

Having been in the thick of the fight on the same question concerning Randolph-Macon, I recognized very clearly that the position of Chancellor Kirkland and even of Bishop Hendrix was the thin edge of the wedge which, if driven in, meant the separation of Vanderbilt University from the control of the Church. I therefore heartily favored the action of the General Conference in electing trustees to fill vacancies for confirmation by the Vanderbilt Board of Trust. By this method it would be quickly shown whether the Vanderbilt Board of Trust agreed that it was the property of the Church in fact, and under the control of the General Conference. The General Conference of 1910 adopted the report of the Committee on Education by a large majority, but from my experience in the Randolph-Macon matter, I was satisfied that there would be trouble about Vanderbilt during the next quadrennium.

There were some unpleasant features in connection with the Asheville General Conference. The sharp differences of opinion in both the Baltimore and the Virginia Conferences over the Randolph-Macon question were reflected at Asheville in many unpleasant words and caustic criticism. The support of my position by the Virginia Conference, and my election at the head of the delegation were referred to as a proof that the Virginia Conference "had a Matt Quay dictatorship," the implication being that the majority for me had been secured by some sinister methods. These hostile criticisms, circulated persistently among the delegates, were not helpful to me. They produced a feeling that the great Virginia Conference was seriously divided. The breach with Dr. Smith, while understood by those who had thoroughly investigated the subject, was emphasized and deplored.

I enjoyed the General Conference of 1910 less than any General Conference I ever attended, and returned home tired and weary and anxious for a good rest. I was still deeply distressed by the death of my father [in that year] and was deeply affected at the approaching separation from Blackstone.¹⁰ I decided finally to take a trip to Europe, carrying with me my wife and my four oldest children, ranging in age from fifteen to twenty-one. The trip was probably the most delightful one I ever took of all my numerous trips to Europe. My brother-in-law, the Reverend R. H. Bennett, had kindly consented to become responsible for the editorship of the *Advocate*, and I was satisfied that the paper would be more attractive than usual under his care. With practically no pressing responsibility for the first time in sixteen years, I outlined a trip to Europe which would give my children a glimpse of the high

10. See introduction for details on Blackstone.

spots, and my wife and myself a revivification of sights already seen. The sailing was first cabin on the steamer *Caledonia*, direct to Glasgow, with choice staterooms at only ninety dollars per person. That was nearly twice as much as paid for second cabins ten years before, but the accommodations were much better, and they were equally as good and about one-half what they are today.

A stop of ten days was made in Edinburgh to attend the World Missionary Conference, to which my wife and I had been appointed delegates. . . .

The Missionary Conference made a great impression upon all of us. It was probably the greatest Christian gathering which had been held up to that time. The Anglicans, with their archbishops, bishops, deans, canons, Scotch university professors and dominies in black silk robes, the nonconformist leaders of Great Britain and Ireland, the delegates from the great Protestant churches of America, and the outstanding leaders from the mission fields of the world—the assembly as a whole—thrilled me and filled me with a great longing for a world-wide church, unified in its motives, purposes, and general plan, if not in every detail of organization. And since Edinburgh I have been actively connected with every unified Christian movement of an ecumenical character.

From Edinburgh our route was through the south of Scotland and the north of England, touching shrines and cathedrals, stopping at Epworth, in Lincolnshire, for a day and a night. . . . From there the trip to London, Oxford, Cambridge, the Shakespeare country, Holland, Belgium, the Rhine, Switzerland, and Italy left the children somewhat dazed, although intensely alert and probably getting more impressions than their parents. They were all half indignant, half amused, at a supercilious comment in an English paper that "The Yankee Crackers" were on "their annual scamper through Europe."

At Naples the advertisement of the sailing of a fast ship to Port Said decided the parents to make an unexpected trip to Palestine and Egypt. We did not know when we could ever again, certainly not at so small an expense, give our children firsthand knowledge of the Holy Land. The ship on which we took sail was of the German East-African Line, which operated the finest, fastest boats from Europe to Port Said, as they were built especially to encourage German emigration to German East Africa, now known as the Tanganyika Territory.

The staterooms were very good, but the fare was very heavy, coarse German food, which none of us enjoyed. Fortunately the weather was delightful, and the Mediterranean at its very best and bluest. But the German passengers were most disagreeable. They were not only loud

and boisterous, but very coarse, swaggering, and disgusting in their attitude of German superiority. They went around with the air of a man with a chip on his shoulder, and "Deutschland über Alles" was not only their favorite song but was their real thought. They thought they had a right to rule the world, and whenever the Kaiser said the word, they would make the rest of the countries fully understand it. Their conduct became so disgusting that we stayed largely in our staterooms, going out for only short periods to see how really asinine the Germans could be.

When the ship reached Port Said, a French steamer was fortunately in port, leaving in three or four hours for Jaffa, then the port of Jerusalem. It was before the days of railroads from Egypt to Palestine. The German captain sent us by small boat over to the French steamer. Upon our arrival we found that the ship was packed to its utmost capacity in every berth. But we could not afford to wait three or four days for another steamer, so, in spite of much French gesticulation, shrugging of shoulders, and protestations of "Impossible! Impossible!" I bought deck space and rented some blankets to use in sleeping on the deck at night. With great difficulty the French sailors cleared a place large enough for us among the Arabs, Egyptians, Syrians, and Jews, who had already bought deck space and strenuously objected to being moved. It was necessary to use considerable "baksheesh" to secure peace, and even then there was swearing and bad language used through the night. As our party had all our money and other traveling possessions with us, it was agreed that the night would be divided into watches, each one taking a turn. At first the children were quite delighted at the idea, but after midnight it was not such a joke. Eyelids became heavy, and once I waked suddenly to find that our watchman was asleep, and one of the sly neighbors was trying to investigate the suitcases.

It seems almost unbelievable that the traveling public should have endured for so many years the landing at Jaffa. It is both ludicrous and dangerous. The ship cannot go within several hundred feet of land, and the landing is made in small boats. The sea is always rough and choppy, and when it is stormy landing is impossible. The small boats came up to the side of the steamer as close as possible without being dashed by the waves against the side of the ship. Three or four strong, well-built men handled each boat, two at the oars (enough to keep it in place), and one standing on one of the seats with arms extended to catch the passengers, who were dropped from the side of the ship.

The drop from the French boat was all of twenty feet, and at first we all said that we could not risk it; but as we saw more than a score of

other passengers dropped from the ship and caught expertly by the boatman and placed safely on the benches, we finally decided to take the chance.

To reassure the children, the mother went first. With skirts flying in the breeze, she landed plump in the arms of a stalwart Arab, who caught her as though she were a bag of wheat, and put her down safely. The four children followed, some squealing, all reluctantly. When the time came for me to be thrown from the ship's side, the rest of the family rose up in the boat with mixed anxiety and merriment, to see me, with utter loss of dignity and with no semblance of control of my body, being hurled through the air like an article of merchandise. As has been said, it was not only ridiculous but dangerous, for sudden, unexpected lurches of the boat sometimes landed the catcher and his burden in the sea, which, of course, was better than to have one's skull cracked on the hard bench of the boat. I went to Palestine several times afterwards, but I never again set sail in any ship that would compel me to land at Jaffa.

From Jaffa we went by easy stages to Jerusalem. . . . Arrangements were made at a very moderate cost to travel in a large buckboard carrying ample supplies for a fairly comprehensive trip over lower Palestine. . . .

The first night out of Jerusalem was spent at a town near the Mediterranean called Zamorin. The innkeeper was a Jew who had lived for several years in New York and was eager to do his best. It was Friday night, and, for the first time, we all attended a Jewish service in the village synagogue, where everything was carried on in accordance with the Jewish ritual. The rabbis and all the congregation greeted us very graciously, and that service alone was worth the entire Palestine trip.

The next night was spent at Haifa in a German hotel down by the sea, right at the foot of Carmel. The moon was at the full. The beach at Haifa is one of the best in the world, and the bath[sic] under the full moon in the Mediterranean at Haifa was unforgettable. From Haifa we went to the Sea of Galilee, and there, at the head of the Jordan Valley, we had our first taste of the terrific heat of midsummer in a place below sea level. Because of some racial clashes it was thought unwise to go to Nazareth and Capernaum.

We reached Samaria about nightfall. That city also had been in quite an uproar, and catcalls and mud followed the buckboard wagon as it drove rapidly to the large German hotel. It was significant that practically all of the substantial hotels in Palestine were owned by Germans.

It was said that they had been built by the help of the German government, and it was the common talk of the people that the Kaiser expected the Turks to give him control of the country. At any rate, these German hotels were considered to be the best and safest places. . . . The German proprietor disclosed that he had four small cannon on top of the hotel to use in case of attack.

One of the most interesting things in Palestine was the small group of Samaritans who traced their descent directly from the Samaritans of the time of Christ. They still show the ancient roll of their Pentateuch for a moderate "baksheesh." They do not intermarry with outsiders and the community is dwindling steadily away.

There is no doubt as to the identity of Jacob's well. There Jacob and his sons watered their flocks, and there the Master told the woman of Samaria all that ever she did, and announced the great principle of all true worship: "God is a Spirit, and they that worship Him must worship Him in spirit and in truth." Like many other famous places, Jacob's well has become sadly commercialized, and it is impossible to enjoy there any time of quiet reflection and meditation. . . .

We thought that the most impressive place in Jerusalem was the Mosque of Omar, built on what is called the dome of the rock, as probably the site of Solomon's Temple and its successors as is any other place in Jerusalem. At the time we were there it was difficult to secure access to the mosque because some tourists, a few weeks before, had violated the regulations made by the Moslems for the conduct of Christians coming into the mosque. There had been shooting, with one or two fatalities, and the fanatical Moslems were bitterly opposed to allowing any more Christians to enter the sacred precincts. The authorities had only recently raised the ban, but all tourists were warned on entering the mosque to be very quiet so as not to excite any of the fanatical worshipers. Two Bedouin Arabs waved their arms and started in our direction, but were kept away by the Moslem guards. . . .

Feeling amply repaid for the time and money expended on Palestine and Egypt, the family embarked again at Port Said on another German East-African steamer on its way back to Germany. There was no improvement, either in the food or in the manners of the German passengers. But the speed of the boat compensated somewhat for the other disadvantages. Time was given for all the real high spots in Paris, especially Notre Dame, the Louvre, the Tomb of Napoleon, the Champs Elysées, and the Arc de Triomphe. The trip on the steamer *Baltic* from Liverpool home gave an opportunity for rest and meditation. I came back with renewed vigor and spirit for my work, having enjoyed longer,

[more] uninterrupted, satisfying association with my family than I have had at any time since.

For some months after my return from Europe I was intensely interested and busily involved in the work of the Anti-Saloon League and in the establishment of a daily newspaper, the *Richmond Virginian*, in the city of Richmond. These matters will be given more extended consideration in a later chapter. But during this same time I was approached by the commissioners of the Southern Assembly with a request that I investigate that matter and, if satisfied, become the General Superintendent of the Assembly. As I gave much money, energy, and time to the work of the Southern Assembly during a period of nearly fifteen years, and as I gave the most of my time to it for over three years, something should be said concerning this organization.

The Laymen's Missionary Movement had held a great conference at Chattanooga, Tennessee, in 1908. At that conference a committee was appointed to locate a suitable place at which to establish a great summer assembly of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. The committee finally selected a site on Richland Creek in Haywood County, North Carolina, about three miles from Waynesville. They had the promise of approximately \$100,000 in good subscriptions from citizens of Waynesville, and they bought or took options on about one thousand acres of land. They secured a charter from the legislature of North Carolina which was supposed, at the time, to exempt all the property of the Assembly from taxation, and which conferred wide powers upon the commissioners as to the various activities which would be carried on.

The first commissioners were: Bishop James Atkins, who had largely influenced the selection of the site near Waynesville, where he had his own home; Mr. John R. Pepper, at that time and for at least thirty years of his life the outstanding layman of Southern Methodism; Dr. George R. Stuart, the incomparable evangelist and lecturer; General Julian S. Carr, the prominent citizen of North Carolina; Messers. B. J. Sloan, S. C. Satterthwaite, Alden Howell, and Samuel C. Welsh, citizens of Waynesville. I was first approached by Dr. George R. Stuart. Later on, at the invitation of the commissioners, I went to Waynesville and gave careful consideration to the enterprise.

I was heartily in favor of the general proposition. My visits to Chautauqua [New York], Ocean Grove [Maryland], and Winona Lake [Indiana] had greatly impressed upon me the value of such assemblies, and I greatly desired that Southern Methodism should establish an assembly second to none. I had been a prime mover in the effort to secure action by the Virginia Conference to establish such an assembly on the Virginia

seashore, and had gone so far as to become responsible, along with Mr. J. W. Hough of Norfolk, for a large tract of land on Lynnhaven Inlet, which I turned over to the Conference for that purpose. There seeming to be no prospects for any immediate action in Virginia, I agreed the more readily to consider the proposition for an assembly more nearly in the center of the Church.

I was greatly impressed with the physical beauty of the site selected; but I wanted to assure myself that the financial conditions were such as would make possible the carrying out of adequate plans. The building of a dam across Richland Creek to form a lake was an essential feature, and that would, of necessity, cost in the neighborhood of \$100,000, which would be in addition to payments for land and for necessary public buildings. I went over with the commissioners the list of subscriptions already obtained, and received their positive assurance as to the reliability of the subscribers, and as to their financial ability and property holdings in case it should be necessary to bring suit to collect the subscriptions.

Not until I had become satisfied that there were enough bona fide collectible subscriptions of approximately \$100,000 did I agree to accept the position of General Superintendent. It was also provided that, in the event I accepted, Mr. Pepper, as president of the Laymen's Missionary Movement, Dr. Stuart, as a drawing card anywhere, and Bishop Atkins whenever possible, would visit with me the leading cities of Southern Methodism east of the Mississippi to hold luncheons and dinners of picked laymen and preachers to explain the plan and secure additional subscriptions.

Unfortunately, before the first year was over, I found that the Waynesville subscription list would not be worth more than sixty cents on the dollar, at the outside. Furthermore, the most active and influential Waynesville commissioner, Mr. S. C. Welsh, died from pneumonia during the first year of operations. He was a man of wide influence in Haywood County and had he lived, the attitude of the officials and of the country people generally toward the Assembly would have been very different. Mr. Welsh's executor fought the payment of his subscription. There were some failures in business of some of the largest subscribers. Others declined to pay without a suit.

Had I known what would have been the net value of the Waynesville subscriptions, I would not have agreed to have anything to do with the Southern Assembly. But I believed that the meetings of the ministers and laymen held in the cities of the South would not only popularize the Assembly but would secure a large amount of gilt-edged subscriptions. The meetings were held in a number of cities, and in view

of the standing of Mr. Pepper and Dr. Stuart the men invited to the luncheons and dinners usually attended, and subscriptions were made at the meetings running from five hundred to seventy-five hundred dollars. Had it not been for these subscriptions, the Assembly would have collapsed before the dam was finished.

After the contract for the dam had been signed, Mr. Howell, one of the commissioners, became dissatisfied and wanted to withdraw. He had made some subscriptions for which he had taken stock in the Assembly. While I had made a good subscription when I accepted the superintendency, yet, preferring not to work with a dissatisfied official, at considerable sacrifice I bought all the stock of Mr. Howell. Later on, from time to time, I bought more stock until I had put more than \$20,000 into the Assembly.

Believing thoroughly, as I did, in the great benefits which would come to the Church from the Assembly, I went ahead; and, as I had done at Blackstone, I put time, energy, and practically all of my credit into developing the Assembly grounds. I contracted for the building of practically all of the roads which are at present on the grounds; I contracted for the building of the dam, for the auditorium, and for what was known as the Public Service Building. I moved my family to Waynesville, and for three years centered the greater part of my effort upon the development of the Assembly. This involved as responsible work, financially, as I had ever done. I had as a financial basis only subscription notes. The local banks at Waynesville could furnish only a limited amount of credit. I could find no sympathetic response from the banks at Asheville.

I secured some temporary help from the Wachovia Bank and Trust Company of Winston-Salem, but finally I was obliged to put to a test my personal credit in the state of Virginia. I borrowed over \$100,000, in amounts of five and ten thousand dollars, from the country banks of Virginia, which, knowing my record at Blackstone, with the *Advocate*, and in the founding of the *Richmond Virginian*, took the Southern Assembly notes with myself as endorser. By this method I was able to finish the dam and the bridge at a cost of about \$110,000, the engineering and roads at something over \$40,000, the auditorium at between \$15,000 and \$20,000, and the Public Service Building at about \$15,000.

Financially, the great question was whether the absolutely necessary public utilities could be finished and the Assembly itself become a living, growing thing, and whether then the plans wrought out would so appeal to the Church that sufficient lots could be sold on the Assembly grounds to liquidate the indebtedness gradually.

After the public utilities mentioned above had been constructed and the Assembly had been opened for its summer work, I was faced with the necessity of caring for the large amount of notes carried in the bank on my endorsement. I finally arranged with the Old Dominion Trust Company of Virginia to send a representative to Lake Junaluska to appraise the property values of the Assembly with a view to placing a bond issue of \$150,000, which bond issue would be secured by a mortgage on all the property of the Southern Assembly. The representative of the Old Dominion Trust Company reported favorably, and the date of the issuance of the bonds was fixed, the \$150,000 to be placed to the credit of the Assembly. On the fixed date the country banks, which had been carrying the Assembly notes with my endorsement, sent the notes, with accompanying sight drafts, to the Old Dominion Trust Company. The notes were paid, and my credit with the country banks of Virginia was fully maintained.

The Southern Assembly was opened in the summer of 1913 by the Junaluska Missionary Conference. By the most tremendous exertions, the dam had been finished but the water had not risen very far in the lake. The electric light system had been installed, but not until the very night of the opening was the system completed so as to test whether it would work. The twilight was fading, the crowds were assembling from the Waynesville hotels and boardinghouses, and just when it seemed that the conference was to open in darkness, the auditorium and grounds were flooded with light, and the Missionary Conference was a great success. The visitors from all over the Church were loud in their praise of the picturesque mountain scenery and of the fine location of the grounds. One writer entitled his editorial, "The Lake that Surprised the Mountain."

My motto for the Assembly was "Rest, Recreation, Conference, Inspiration." My thought and hope were that the connectional boards of the Church would make the Assembly grounds their center of operations for the summer, and I urged the Board of Missions, the Board of Education, the Sunday School Board, the Epworth League Board, the Board of Temperance and Social Service, and the Laymen's Missionary Movement, all to prepare summer programs for Junaluska, with free use of the auditorium and every assistance that the Assembly officials could give them to make their meetings a success.

The mind of the Church gradually became accustomed to the thought that Junaluska was indeed the Assembly of Southern Methodism. Many lots were sold, cottages erected, and it looked as though the plans and hopes of the founders would be realized, but after these early years there

was a decided cessation in the buying of lots and the building of cottages. There was a great financial slump during the first year of World War I; there was a great flood in Western Carolina in the second year, which occurred just at the time to cut off travel to the summer conferences. Then the country became absorbed in the war, and other interests were subordinated.

After a few years, however, the attendance at the summer conferences became so great that there was no room to accommodate the visitors. Having put so much effort into the Assembly, I decided that if no one else would meet the need, I would try to do so. I therefore erected a large building with ninety bedrooms, capable of accommodating, in a pinch, two hundred people, and did not give it the pretentious name of a hotel, but called it "The Virginia Lodge," leasing it to be run at a cost of two dollars per day to guests. Following this, other boarding-houses, charging very moderate prices, were opened. In my work for the Southern Assembly all of my family heartily co-operated, although the grind was very heavy sometimes, especially when it became necessary for us to assume personal charge of the Virginia Lodge with its numerous boarders.¹¹ . . .

At the Virginia Annual Conference of 1913 I was again elected as the head of the clerical delegation to the General Conference of 1914. I greatly enjoyed the Conference session. Owing to the large number of bishops elected in 1910, there was no need to elect any bishops. I was approached with a proposition for election, as one of the connectional secretaries, for a position for which I felt especially qualified. But, as at all preceding General Conferences, I declined to be considered for any connectional office. I had been asked, and had agreed, to return to Blackstone, and I did not believe that I could do as good work in any connectional office as I could in the various activities in which I was engaged.

As always, I took part in the various matters before the General Conference, but my two principal speeches were concerning the superannuation of Bishop A. W. Wilson¹² and concerning what was known as

11. After Cannon was elected bishop, he felt compelled gradually to relinquish the responsibility of the Assembly. It was necessary to refinance the original bond issue, and this was done by the Mercantile Trust Company of St. Louis, apparently in 1922. Cannon received a cash salary for his superintendency for only one year; for two other years he took payment "at a very reduced salary in stock (which had no market value) which I converted into lots on the assembly grounds. These lots I was never able to sell."

W. H. Stockham succeeded Cannon as superintendent in 1919 or 1920.

12. Alpheus Watts Wilson (1834-1916) was elected bishop in May, 1882.

the "Vanderbilt Question." The speech on the retirement of Bishop Wilson was an obligation laid upon me by the Committee on Episcopacy, which I did not at all desire, but which I felt that I could not decline.

Bishop Wilson had reached the age of [eighty]. He had been unable to hold some of his Conferences, and had been assisted several times by younger bishops. The Committee on Episcopacy, by a very large majority, voted that the chairman of the committee be requested to confer with Bishop Wilson and state to him that it was the opinion of the committee that he should request retirement. The chairman reported back to the committee that Bishop Wilson declined to accept this advice, and stated that he had not been elected by the Committee on Episcopacy, but by the General Conference, and that if he was to be retired it must be by a vote of that body.

Very regretfully the Committee on Episcopacy then voted to recommend Bishop Wilson's retirement. The chairman stated that he could not represent the committee on that matter. The committee then selected me to represent it. I honestly believed that Bishop Wilson should retire, and that, if he was not willing to do so voluntarily, the General Conference should vote his retirement. Moreover, while I did not desire to be the spokesman of the committee, yet I did not feel that I could refuse to speak if the committee laid the obligation upon me.

Several of the bishops were strongly opposed to Bishop Wilson's retirement, stating that he should be retained in active service, that he should be permitted to die in harness. This argument had no weight with me, for I believed that the same rules should apply to a bishop as to any traveling preacher. While I did not believe in any age limit determined by the almanac, yet I did believe in an age limit determined by the wearing out of physical and mental powers, and I believed that the latter kind of age limit applied to Bishop Wilson's case. An effort was made to have the matter decided by a rising vote. I opposed this, stating that Bishop Wilson had sent word to the committee that the General Conference had elected him and a General Conference should retire him. The General Conference had elected him by ballot and not by a rising vote; and in accordance with his own statement, the vote on his retirement should be by ballot.

My speech, as recorded in the *Daily Christian Advocate*, shows that I based my argument altogether on the facts of the case and the provision of the *Discipline*. There is no trace whatever of any personal animus. The vote was 180 to 90 in favor of retirement. As I expected, my attitude and my speech alienated not only some of the bishops and members of

the General Conference, but, what was of far more importance to me, some of my oldest friends, whom I had known from boyhood, but who idolized Bishop Wilson and who said, "It is too absurd that little Jimmy Cannon should urge the superannuation of a great man like Bishop Wilson."

The all-absorbing issue of the General Conference of 1914, however, was the Vanderbilt question. The relation of Vanderbilt University to the Church had been carried first to the lower court of the state of Tennessee, where the decision was against the position of the university, and then to the Tennessee Court of Appeals, where the decision had been against the contention of the General Conference and in favor of the university.

Faced with the final court decision, the General Conference was called upon to decide what position it should take. There were two reports. The majority report was offered by those who held that the General Conference should cut loose entirely from the university, disclaim any connection whatever with it, ban it as having violated most sacred obligations, and proceed at once to establish two new universities, one at Atlanta, Georgia, and one at Dallas, Texas. The minority report held that the decision of the court gave to the General Conference the power of confirmation of the university trustees. While I did not agree with the decision of the court, and believed that the university was, by the laws of the State of Tennessee, the property of the Church, yet I had decided that it would be a great mistake to sever entirely the relation existing between the Church and the university, and I believed that the power of confirmation was a real bond of control.

The first speaker for the majority report was Dr. A. J. Lamar. As he had not finished his argument when the time expired, on my motion his time was extended until he finished his speech. I was the first speaker for the minority report, and as Dr. Lamar's time had been extended, my time was also extended. . . .

Had the issue been simply to retain the power of confirmation, or to sever all relations, the General Conference would probably have voted to retain the right to confirm; but the matter was complicated not only by the determination of those who had become very hostile to Vanderbilt University, but also by the desire on the part of Texas and Georgia to become official educational centers, with Vanderbilt entirely cut out. Even with that complication, sentiment was nearly equally divided. Near the close of the debate, I conferred with Dr. H. N. Snyder,¹³ and

13. Henry Nelson Snyder (1865-1949), assistant in Latin at Vanderbilt from 1887 to 1890, became Professor of English Literature at Wofford College after 1890 and served

we agreed that we thought the battle was won. At that juncture Dr. W. F. Tillett got the floor, and in his speech made some statements which Bishop Hoss declared to be of a personal nature, and threw the Conference into an uproar by demanding the right to correct mis-statements which he claimed had been made by Dr. Tillett.

Whether the Bishop presiding should have granted the floor to Bishop Hoss was a much-disputed question, but he did secure the floor. At once there emerged a strong personal element, which up to that time had largely been kept out of the debate. It was late in the afternoon and, believing that the Conference was not then in a proper frame of mind to pass calmly upon the merits of the question, I sought an adjournment, but the other side insisted upon an immediate vote, which they won, and then, fearful of what might happen after the delegates had had time for discussion and reflection, the motion was promptly made to reconsider, which motion was as promptly laid on the table, and thus the matter was finally settled.

After the General Conference I insisted, editorially and otherwise, that the General Board of Education should exercise the right given by the court, and pass upon the trustees elected at the Vanderbilt commencement of 1914. The friends of Atlanta and Dallas defeated any such action. . . .

as president from 1902 to 1942. He was also a member of the Unification Commission of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South.

V. Public Life and Social Reform

Virginia (to 1909)

IT HAS FALLEN to my lot to have had, from early manhood, an ever-increasing activity in public life. It had been my expectation in my early youth to give my life to the practice of law with some probable political activity, but with the chief ambition to become a judge of the higher courts and, ultimately, of the Supreme Court of the United States. But when, during my college days, I definitely decided to become a Christian minister, there was no uncertainty in my own mind as to the meaning and sweep of that decision. All thought of a legal or political career was definitely abandoned. From the day that decision was made down to the present hour there has been no wavering, either in conduct or in thought. I fully realized the momentous character of the decision. I projected myself in thought down the years, endeavoring to weigh carefully and conscientiously the opportunities of service in the world about me open both to a Christian layman and to a Christian minister.

There have been some good friends who have thought I made a mistake, that I should have gone on with my original purpose and should have entered public political life, and should have carried on my work as a Christian layman. Indeed, in one of the meetings of the College of Bishops, an episcopal colleague declared that if I wanted to do the sort of work which I was doing, I should resign as a bishop and give myself to that kind of work. But never, since that hour when far into the night watches I debated and settled the question, has there ever been any doubt whatever in my own mind.

Through nearly fifty years of more or less troublous, tempestuous, tempting times I have been kept steady by the fact that I desired absolutely nothing in the way of political office or honor. All my work in public life has been in behalf of some social or moral reform. Such activity as I may have engaged in in the political sphere other than that which is the duty of any good citizen has been to accomplish what I conceived to be some moral purpose. When legislation has been necessary to secure the desired result, the opponents of such legislation have not hesitated to endeavor to becloud the issue, to ascribe false and selfish

motives, and to go to the extreme of denunciation, abuse, slander, and even persecution.

Doubtless many mistakes have been made in the activities of these years, but notwithstanding persistent, vindictive, and fierce attacks by individuals, newspapers, hostile political and ecclesiastical groups, even with the aid of prejudiced court officials, all have utterly failed to show that I ever desired any political office or that any personal profit ever accrued to me from any of these activities in behalf of social reforms.

Rum, Romanism, and Bourbonism—the last in personal, public, and church life—at various times and in various ways have organized to defeat the work which I have tried to do, even if it involved my own personal destruction. That no one of them, nor all of them combined, have been able to destroy me has not been because of my superior abilities, but because of the inability of my opponents to show at any time any motive for the work which I was doing other than the openly declared aim of that work.

While sometimes taxed to the extreme limit of financial, physical, mental, and spiritual ability, during all these years I have never had the slightest doubt as to the final outcome of these personal attacks. Knowing all the facts, I knew that the proper presentation of the facts would disprove, indeed wipe out, all the charges of my opponents. In the pages which follow I shall endeavor to present, as fairly and impartially as I can, the real facts concerning my public life and relation to social and moral reforms.

In the preceding pages the background has been given which made possible if not probable the years which were to follow. The roots which developed the fruitage of later years sprang naturally from the circumstances and associations of my childhood and youth. The barroom across from my boyhood bedroom, involving the death of my beloved uncle, the personal contact with the homes and families of drunkards, the callousness of saloonkeepers, [knowledge of] which came from going the weekly rounds with my mother in her errands of mercy; above all, the teaching and example of my father and mother—these had led me already, in my childhood and youth, to despise the liquor traffic. My experiences with drunken college classmates, my work in connection with the *Southern Crusader* in the Virginia campaign for local option, and my teaching of children in a Band of Hope at Princeton, had confirmed and strengthened the convictions of my boyhood.

But it was when I became a pastor that I was obliged to face the question of my personal responsibility, not only for the personal habits of the members of my churches but for the responsibility of those same

members for the existence of the licensed liquor traffic in the community. It was easy to preach on the evils of drunkenness and the importance of total abstinence. It was not quite so easy to preach plainly and positively upon the selfish, unchristian conduct of men in selling intoxicants to steal away their neighbors' brains, especially when, in all my congregations, there were liquor sellers, members in good standing in other churches. But I did do such preaching.

I soon became convinced, however, that my responsibility did not stop with preaching against dramshops and drunkenness. Liquor licenses in the various neighborhoods where I preached were all granted at the discretion of the county judge, but he could refuse to grant a license upon the petition of the people in the neighborhood where the dramshop was to be located. I waited until I had collected my facts as to the location of the saloons in my circuit: the amount of drunkenness, the families affected, the number of church members living near to each saloon, the names of the people who signed the petition to the judge for the license, and other pertinent facts.

I prepared my sermon with unusual care, writing it out in full, and, contrary to my custom, reading it word for word, that there might be no question as to exactly what I had said. I took for my text the latter part of the fourteenth chapter of Romans: "Destroy not him with thy meat, for whom Christ died. It is good, neither to eat flesh nor to drink wine nor anything, whereby thy brother stumbleth or is offended or is made weak."

After discussing the facts of the saloons in their midst, of the drunkenness, of the families affected, of the duty of followers of Christ to live unselfish, helpful lives, I emphasized that the members of the Church were responsible for the saloons and for all the evils wrought by them until those members had done everything they could by personal persuasion, with the saloonkeepers, and, as citizens, by a petition to the judge, to have the saloons closed.

I did not preach this sermon until near the close of the first year on my first charge, as I wanted to get the facts and an understanding of conditions. My congregations at all the churches were quite large, including the members of other churches in which there was no preaching, and, I think in every case, including the saloonkeepers. I preached the same sermon in succession at all my appointments.

I was not in the habit of reading my sermons, for, preaching freely from notes, I could watch the congregation very closely. But, being obliged to keep my eyes on my manuscript, I could not see what impression the sermon was making. I could only feel. As I advanced from

point to point, the congregation became very quiet, and when I called upon them, the members of the churches, to meet their responsibility and close the saloons, there was a stillness all over the church which could be felt. The congregation remained quiet until after the benediction, but in every case, after getting outside the church, there was animated discussion in many groups.

That sermon was the first time that I ever grappled publicly with the liquor problem, and I learned then, in the first year of my ministry, some things of great importance: first, never state anything for a fact unless you are certain that it is true; second, one fact is worth a page of rhetoric; third, in any discussion of a disputed matter, write what you have to say so that you cannot be misquoted; fourth, expect criticism or attack whenever you preach against the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eye, or the pride of life.

Criticism of my sermon was plentiful, the most blatant and abusive coming from some younger men who did not hear the sermon but who quoted me as saying what I had not said, and what I did not believe. I made no direct reply to those parties by name, but, with the brief statement that I had been misquoted, I published in the county paper exactly what I did say on the disputed points. While it did not soothe the lacerated feelings of the lovers of intoxicants, it effectually stopped their mouths, so far as such misrepresentation was concerned. I had planned to organize to secure the signing of petitions against the granting of a license, but at the Annual Conference session a short time later, much to my surprise, I was given another appointment, and had no opportunity to follow up my sermon.

This experience probably does not warrant the amount of space which has been given to it, but it marked the beginning of my public warfare with the liquor traffic and taught me some important lessons. The facts concerning the liquor traffic, which I tried faithfully to proclaim in that sermon, produced, as they always will, a line of cleavage in the several communities where the sermon was preached. Brother William A. Smith, my leading steward at Charlotte Court House, said to me the next morning, calling the two liquor sellers of the place by name, "They will never forgive you. They, their wives and children, were in the congregation, and the men to whom they sell were sitting all around the church. They may come to hear you again, but if they do, they will take back seats."

For once Brother Smith was not a good prophet. Both of the liquor sellers were goodhearted men who had never faced their responsibility squarely. Their wives were much distressed, especially one, because she

had a bright Christian son who was planning to be a Presbyterian minister. Neither man showed me any ill will, but treated me with respect, and before very long they closed their barrooms. At the other points on the circuit, the licenses were renewed, I think, until swept out by the Mann Law, but the lines of battle were more tightly drawn than ever before.

In my two years' pastorate at Newport News I came to close grips with the saloons. By common consent no licenses were granted by the judge for saloons from Twenty-fifth Street to beyond the shipyards, but on the other side of that line there were five or six of the so-called high-class saloons within three or four blocks of the business center. Across the railroad tracks, in "Hell's Half-Acre" there were several ordinary barrooms which were patronized by laborers on the docks at the coal elevator. Also, on the east side of the railroad tracks in the section inhabited by the colored population and by many laboring men there were several barrooms. Considering the floating character of the population at that time, while there was much drinking by certain elements, yet in general, fairly good order was maintained. . . .

I found myself more embarrassed in preaching on the evils of the saloon than I had been on the Charlotte Circuit, for I had as members of my church three or four women whose husbands were leading saloonkeepers and whose children attended our Sunday School. Of course, it was embarrassing to these women and their children to hear the truth proclaimed concerning the saloons, but there was no choice in the matter. Whenever the proper development of a text included the saloon in its scope, I never dodged because of the presence of anyone, even of the saloonkeepers themselves, who sometimes attended with their wives. At the Quarterly Conferences, it was predicted freely by some of the stewards that these wives and children would either withdraw from the church or discontinue coming, but it was recognized that there was no other church to which they could go without incurring the same embarrassment, and, as a matter of fact, they never did withdraw or discontinue coming to church or discontinue their support of the work of the church. . . .

I began to study while in Newport News the close alliance between the political leaders of the state and the liquor movement, and in a sermon I declared, even at that early date, that the Christian citizens who sat in the pews would be obliged to convince their political leaders of the state that their influence was worth more than that of the liquor dealers and their followers. From Newport News I was sent to Farmville, in the very heart of Southside Virginia, an old conservative town,

with an unusually large proportion of intelligent, well-to-do citizens. The saloons in the town were run by men of good family and conducted as nearly like decent, orderly places as it is well possible for a saloon to be, but, as the song in *Pinafore* declares, "Gild the farthing if you will, Yet it is a farthing still," so a saloon where alcohol is sold is a saloon, no matter what you call it, or under what conditions the alcohol is sold.

Not only did many homes in Farmville suffer from these saloons, but as Farmville was a trading point for the outlying country districts, the farmers, having sold their tobacco, drank alcohol and carried it away to their homes in jugs. There had been little preaching on the subject by the other ministers when I came to Farmville, although the pastors agreed that the saloons were an evil.

While I had made statements in my sermons which indicated clearly my opposition to the liquor traffic, it was not until my second year that, after gathering all the pertinent facts which I could, I preached a special sermon one night on the subject, having given notice of the topic of my sermon in the town paper. The church was crowded, many opponents of the saloons being present from the other churches with a very large contingent of the patrons and defenders of the saloons. I preached the most lengthy, sweeping sermon that I had ever preached on any subject, having set forth the evils of the sale of alcohol for beverage purposes.

I laid special stress upon the responsibility of the people sitting in the pews before me for the existence of the saloons in the town, [and] especially emphasized the responsibility resting upon the town council, which had large powers in the matter of granting liquor licenses. My recollection at this distant date is that the town council had the authority to recommend or disapprove the application for a liquor license when made to the county judge. In a town like Farmville such a sermon was a subject for conversation and discussion and dispute in the stores, in the homes, on the streets, and in the warehouses. A great body of my own church people stood squarely behind me. Some members who might not have previously done so were realizing the effects of the saloons on their own children.

About that time the *Farmville District Methodist* was started, and I was elected by the District Conference to act as editor. It gave me, for the first time, the absolute control of a newspaper in which I could write what I believed, as often as I desired, and without limit as to space. This weapon I have found to be exceedingly effective, and from that time onward for twenty-five years, I owned and controlled a religious newspaper, without which I know that I could never have been able

to accomplish what I did in the field of social and moral reform. At the session of the Virginia Annual Conference in 1893 I introduced a strong temperance resolution. This resolution, and all resolutions of a similar nature introduced for several years, were bitterly opposed by Dr. Paul Whitehead, secretary of the Conference, and some others who supported his views. He had always been able to defeat such resolutions by insisting that they introduced political questions into the Conference proceedings, that our Church had consistently and positively refused to take any action on any question involving activities of the states.

Dr. Whitehead, while a very able, good man, had strong prejudices, and he was specially vigorous in his antagonism to the simple resolution which was presented. However, the resolution was adopted, and although he continued to oppose similar and more sweeping resolutions in the following years, he finally stated in making his last speech in opposition to such resolutions, "However, it is just whistling against the wind. My views are well-known and unchangeable, and I will speak no more."

It so happened that the news editor of the *Richmond Times* was a relative and an admirer of Dr. Whitehead, and, while perhaps a fair man in his usual handling of news, had without any personal knowledge of me allowed his estimate of Dr. Whitehead to affect the handling of news items concerning me.

At the Virginia Annual Conference in November, 1900, the . . . reporter [who] represented the *Times* . . . sent a false report of the proceedings of the Conference as far as they related to me. The news editor seized hold upon this false report and gave it a front page headline: "Distrust of the Rev. James Cannon, Chancellor Smith Admits that There Is Ground for It." When this publication reached Norfolk, resolutions were adopted by the Conference that the statement was "false in fact and malicious in spirit." Dr. W. W. Smith read a telegram that he had sent to Joseph Bryan, Esq., editor of the *Richmond Times*:¹ "Please say that the statement in the *Times* today that 'Chancellor Smith admits that there is ground for distrust of Rev. James Cannon, Jr.,' is absolutely untrue. What Chancellor Smith did say was that he believed there was absolutely no ground for distrust. (signed) W. W. Smith, November 21, 1900." . . .

This second personal attack by the *Richmond Times*, both in the headlines and news story, indicated the animus in the *Times* office. Dr.

1. Joseph Bryan (1845-1908), a Virginia industrialist, in 1887 became publisher of the *Richmond Times* and owner of the *Richmond Evening Leader*. He continued as publisher after the *Times* merged with the *Dispatch* in 1903.

Smith and I followed up his telegram by going from Norfolk to Richmond after the adjournment of the Conference to call on Mr. Joseph Bryan personally. Mr. Bryan was a gentleman of high type and far above any of the petty malice and prejudice of workers in the office of the *Times*. We stated the facts to him and he said he would make a thorough investigation, and would make a suitable publication in the *Times* later on. . . .

When Mr. Bryan returned to Richmond, after a trip to the Hot Springs, he took up the matter at once and wrote me: "I have prepared and will publish tomorrow in the editorial columns of the *Times* an article entitled 'An Amend Honorable.'" This editorial did appear and the expressions contained in it were entirely satisfactory, but, as I wrote to Mr. Bryan, the attacks made upon me were all headlined on the front page, and were seen by all the readers of the *Times*, whereas editorials were not read by any large percentage of the readers. . . .

But while Mr. Bryan was entirely sincere in his position, yet extreme prejudice and bitterness toward me took possession of many of the workers in the office of the paper, which never, in nearly fifty years, has praised or even approved any of my actions, but has at every opportunity attacked me with more or less bitterness and malice. Numerous other newspapers have attacked me during the years, but none have ever equaled the persistent and vicious abuse, vilification, and slander of the Richmond *Times-Dispatch*.

My removal from Farmville, in 1894, to the position of principal of Blackstone Female Institute, later Blackstone College, took me finally out of the pastorate, and my relation to social and moral reforms was of a more general nature than before. There were three saloons in the town of Blackstone, and some disreputable "blind tigers" in the county. The *Farmville District Methodist*, whose name was changed to the *Methodist Recorder*, was circulated all through Southside Virginia. It was well-known that one of the declared aims of the paper was the promotion of temperance and of local prohibition. A column was started in the paper which was headed, "The Forefront of the Battle," under which title were printed strong articles and an array of telling facts against the liquor traffic. Frequent communications and editorials on the same subject were printed.

The first open clash with the State Liquor Dealers' Association was on a matter of granting certain liquor licenses which I vigorously opposed. The Richmond office of the liquor dealers sent down an attorney to represent the local saloonkeepers, and ridiculed the idea that the views of Christian ministers should have any weight with the judge

in the matter of granting liquor licenses. The county judge refused to grant the licenses, but an appeal was taken to the circuit judge, who held that the word "may" in the statute was mandatory in its meaning and not permissive, simply, and that the only way to prevent the granting of a license would be to hold a local-option election.

My experience in these cases showed me that the liquor traffic was thoroughly organized in the state of Virginia, and that it not only had headquarters in Richmond, but that it had its representatives in all the principal cities of the state, and that while the local liquor sellers paid local counsel, they could count upon assistance from their state organization whenever they called for it.²

Thus before I had been ten years in the ministry, I was *persona non grata* to most of the daily press of the state, and in 1898 my position in the Annual Conference on the liquor traffic was so firmly established that I was elected director of the Anti-Saloon League of America from the Virginia Conference.

At the National Convention of the Anti-Saloon League, held in Washington in 1903, there were certain proposals brought forward by Dr. P. A. Baker, the General Superintendent of the Anti-Saloon League of America.³ These proposals were important and worthy of full discussion, as they affected the relation between the state and national organizations of the League. As the representative from Virginia, I took my responsibility seriously and pointed out changes which I thought should be made in the proposals.

Dr. Baker was an able administrator, possessed of unusual guiding power and inclined to be impatient of any criticism of his proposals, and he endeavored to set me down or run over me; but, contrary to his wishes and much to his surprise, the convention voted to make the changes which I proposed.

At the close of the session I was standing in the rear of the platform in conversation, and I heard Dr. Baker say to the secretary, the Reverend S. E. Nicholson,⁴ "Who is this fellow Cannon who is trying

2. Cannon's amplification of the hostility of the liquor dealers was deleted at this point in the manuscript.

3. Purley A. Baker (1858-1924), Methodist minister from Ohio, was elected state superintendent of the Ohio Anti-Saloon League in 1897 and unanimously elected superintendent of the National Anti-Saloon League in 1903, succeeding Howard H. Russell, founder of the movement.

4. Samuel Edgar Nicholson (1862-1934) is listed in *Who's Who in America* as a "reformer." He was active in the Society of Friends and was field secretary of the Indiana Anti-Saloon League from 1898 to 1899. He later worked with the Maryland and Pennsylvania Anti-Saloon Leagues. He was elected secretary of the National Anti-Saloon League in 1898 and held that position until his death.

to rewrite our program?" Nicholson replied, "Oh, don't you know who he is? He is the man who wrote 'The Minority Report on the War Claim' at the Southern Methodist Conference last year, condemning the book agents and calling for the return of the money; you can't rule him down."

Dr. Baker had a great way of chewing his lip. I watched him from the rear. He chewed on his lip and said to Nicholson, "Well, if we can't rule him down, we will make him a member of the Executive Committee, and get his support." So whether because Dr. Baker desired it, or the Committee on Nominations decided upon it, I was elected a member of the Executive Committee of the Anti-Saloon League of America, and have continued a member of that Committee until the present time. . . .

The constitution of the Anti-Saloon League of America and of the affiliated state Anti-Saloon Leagues is simple and clear. "The aim is the extermination of the beverage liquor traffic." In the accomplishment of this aim, the Anti-Saloon League declares itself to be "nonpartisan and omnipartisan." It knows no political party as such and its membership includes members of all political parties. Its pledge of neutrality and nonpartisanship is declared plainly and unequivocally:

"The League pledges itself to avoid affiliation with any political party as such and to maintain the attitude of strict neutrality on all questions of public policy not directly and immediately concerned with the traffic in strong drink."

The entire objective and work of the League are expressed in these brief statements. Everything else is a matter of effective organization to carry out this openly declared aim.

The League declares itself to be "The Church in action against the Saloon" and asks the support of the various church bodies. Having thoroughly considered the platform of the League, I became fully satisfied that it presented a feasible and effective method for carrying on the warfare for the extermination of the beverage liquor traffic.

The program of the League is contained in the three words: agitation, legislation, law enforcement. Agitation includes, of course, all forms of discussion of the beverage liquor traffic, whether by posters, printed page, radio, sermons, public addresses, or aggressive campaign speeches. The purpose of agitation is total abstinence, and the second point of the League program, legislation, is to protect society from the legalized or illegal liquor traffic. The third equally important item of the program is law enforcement, which unfortunately has never been properly magnified.

The leaders of the League at that time were: Dr. P. A. Baker, General Superintendent; Dr. Howard H. Russell, the Founder and First General Superintendent of the League, now Associate General Superintendent; Bishop Luther B. Wilson, President; the Reverend S. E. Nicholson, Secretary; and a younger group of men from the state of Ohio, Ernest H. Cherrington, E. C. Dinwiddie, and Wayne B. Wheeler.⁵

These men had all been called out and developed under the leadership of Dr. Baker and were his loyal lieutenants. I made a fairly accurate appraisal of these men in those early days, little thinking for how many years I would be closely associated with them. From that time down to the present, I have attended practically every meeting of the Executive Committee of the Anti-Saloon League of America, and have given my time and strength to carry on successfully the work of the League. Among men of such positive personalities there have been, of necessity, many differences of opinion, sometimes as sharp as those between Peter and Paul, but these differences of opinion have been concerning matters of policy and not concerning the main objective of the League. As during all the years I have never been a salaried official of the League, either state or national, my speech and vote have always been recognized as free from any self-interest.

After studying the program and attending national conventions of the Anti-Saloon League of America, I, along with some other prohibi-

5. Howard Hyde Russell (1855-1946), born at Stillwater, Minnesota, was at one time or another clerk, cowboy, lawyer, Congregational minister, and officially designated founder of the Anti-Saloon League. He was the first General Superintendent (1895-1903), and active until the 1940's in the antiliquor movement.

Luther B. Wilson (1856-1928), a native of Baltimore, entered the Baltimore Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1878 and was elected bishop by the General Conference in 1908.

Wayne B. Wheeler (1869-1927), born at Brookfield, Ohio, began temperance work while at Oberlin College; he was active in the Ohio Anti-Saloon League, became general counsel (1915) and Legislative Superintendent of the Anti-Saloon League of America. He successfully prosecuted more than 2,000 saloon cases, some of them before the Supreme Court of the United States.

Edwin Courtland Dinwiddie (1867-1935) was born in Springfield, Ohio; entered the Evangelical Lutheran Ministry in 1894 and became active in the temperance movement. He was the first National Legislative Superintendent of the Anti-Saloon League in America (1899-1907) and again (1911-1920). He directed Anti-Saloon League campaigns before Congress such as those that resulted in the passage of the Webb-Kenyon Act (1913) and the National Prohibition Resolution.

Ernest H. Cherrington (1877-1950) was born in Hamden, Ohio. Active in the temperance and national prohibition movement, he was historian of the Anti-Saloon League, editor of the *Standard Encyclopedia of the Alcohol Problem* (1925,), secretary of the National Executive Commission, member of the National Administrative Commission and general manager of the publishing interests, all of the Anti-Saloon League of America (1915-1936).

tion leaders of Virginia, was persuaded that the time had come to organize an Anti-Saloon League of Virginia and so a conference was held [in the year 1901] in the Second Baptist Church in Richmond at which the Anti-Saloon League of Virginia was organized, with representatives of several of the leading religious denominations composing the Executive Committee. I was a member of that committee.

This action might not have produced immediate important results, but an unusual occurrence brought the Virginia League into unexpected prominence. Dr. Baker, the General Superintendent of the National League, had sent as Superintendent of the Virginia League, the Reverend C. H. Crawford, a good man, but unsuited to carry on the work among Southern people, with whom he had had no previous personal contacts. He was carrying on the work in routine fashion until a decision was rendered by Judge Clarence J. Campbell concerning the selling of intoxicants by a drug store located at Amherst Court House.

This decision was criticized in the press by Superintendent Crawford, and he was cited by Judge Campbell for contempt of court. He appeared before the court, was represented by Judge William Hodges Mann, a very able lawyer, and Judge Campbell was obliged to pronounce him not guilty of contempt. After the decision was rendered, however, and the court was adjourned, Judge Campbell sought out Superintendent Crawford and, drawing out a whip, proceeded to whip him with it.

This incident was headlined not only in Virginia papers, but throughout the country, and overnight Superintendent Crawford and the Anti-Saloon League of Virginia sprang into unusual prominence. At the next session of the General Assembly of Virginia, Judge Campbell was impeached, tried, found guilty of conduct unbecoming his office, and dismissed from the bench. While the wet newspapers did everything they could under the circumstances to minimize the importance of the Anti-Saloon League, yet, the whole state was informed as to the aims and methods of the League and of the character of the men who were standing behind it as the Executive Committee.

About the time of this episode, Judge Mann was elected as senator for the Twenty-eighth District of Virginia, in which district the town of Blackstone is located.⁶ He had been the county judge of Nottoway

6. William Hodges Mann (1843-1927) was born in Williamsburg, Virginia. He served as a Confederate scout and spy during the Civil War. From 1870 to 1892 he was county judge of Nottoway. In 1899 he was elected to the Virginia State Senate. He became chairman of the committee on the revision of the laws of Virginia in 1903, was governor of Virginia (1910-1914), and author of the Mann liquor law (1903) which closed about eight hundred saloons in the county districts where there was no police protection.

County for twenty years, and during all that time he had flatly refused to grant liquor licenses, compelling the applicants to go on to the circuit court, where the license was usually granted. Judge Mann was of the finest type of Virginia gentleman. He was an active elder in the Presbyterian Church, and when I had preached in the Methodist Church at Nottoway Court House, I had been entertained frequently in his delightful home. Our relations were quite intimate when he was elected state senator. He did me the honor to ask my views on matters pertaining to the moral and educational work of the state and, as indicated elsewhere, he introduced at my request what was known as the County High School Bill, which after deprecatory criticism and opposition from hostile sources was finally enacted into law.⁷

Judge Mann and I fully recognized in our discussion of the liquor situation in Virginia that a great amount of education was necessary to destroy the legalized liquor traffic in the state as a whole. We decided that the first step should be to prevent the granting of a liquor license in any country community at any crossroads store or in any village with less than five hundred inhabitants. We worked together for some time to try to frame a law which would prevent the granting of such licenses. At last the question narrowed itself down in our minds to the matter of the integrity and good faith of the circuit judges of Virginia.

The bill, when introduced, was immediately attacked by the liquor traffic and its ever-obedient allies, the wet press. The crucial words in the bill are: "The judge must be satisfied that the granting of the said license shall not be contrary to the material or moral interest of the community." On every other point it might be possible for the applicant to meet the requirements of the law, but this requirement compelled every judge, in compliance with his oath of office, to be able to declare that he was satisfied that the granting of such license would not be contrary to the material and moral interests of the community.

The first discussion of the measure was had before the House Committee of the General Assembly. The principal speeches were made by Judge Mann and myself. We urged that the General Assembly certainly should not want liquor licenses to be granted if they were contrary to the material and moral interests of the community, and it was exceedingly difficult for the representatives of the liquor traffic to declare that they did want licenses granted regardless of the material and moral interests of the community.

7. On March 14, 1906, House Bill No. 99, after being amended and passed by the Senate, was signed by the speaker. It was designed "to establish and maintain a system of public high schools," and it appropriated money for this purpose (*Journal of the House of Delegates of the State of Virginia for the Session of 1906*, p. 888).

It was my first speech before a legislative committee, and I was glad that it was upon a proposition where the evils of the liquor traffic could be emphasized, along with the logic of the language of the proposed law. The attorney for the Liquor Dealers' Association was a man of considerable ability and of good standing in his local community. He recognized very clearly his inability to meet the arguments which had been advanced; so he made his principal attack upon me as a preacher in politics. He called upon me with great emphasis, "Dr. Cannon, go back to your pulpit. Do not drag the ermine of your sacred office into the dirty paths of politics," and much more of the same tenor.

The bill failed to pass at that session, but it became a rallying cry for the League throughout the state in the election of delegates to the next session of the General Assembly.

Meanwhile I had been elected [1904] president of the Anti-Saloon League of Virginia. The Anti-Saloon League Convention, in addition to the Executive Committee, elected a Legislative Committee to have special charge of all legislation proposed and advocated before the General Assembly of the state. I was elected chairman of that committee and continued to fill that position until my election as bishop in 1918. The Executive Committee elected a Headquarters Committee with authority to carry on most of the work of the League, and I was elected chairman of that committee also. However, on any major proposition I did not favor action by the Headquarters Committee alone, but always insisted upon the coming together of the larger Executive Committee that it might carry the responsibility for action taken.

At about the same time I was elected chairman of the Committee on Temperance of the Virginia Annual Conference, which position also I held until my election as bishop. Thus, the temperance workers in both my own church and in the state at large placed upon my shoulders a weight of responsibility for the development of the temperance program and for the presentation of the program to the General Assembly.

Just about this time [December, 1903] the Reverend J. Sidney Peters and I bought the *Baltimore and Richmond Christian Advocate*, into which was merged the *Southern Methodist Recorder*. The editorial policy of the paper was committed to my hands, although I never took any important position without consultation with Brother Peters, who was a prudent and wise councillor, and as hostile as myself to the beverage liquor traffic.

It is difficult to estimate what control of the *Advocate* meant in the advancement of the work which I was trying to do in the fields of education and prohibition. The *Methodist Recorder* had performed a great

service, but the consolidation of the two papers gave a far more powerful and effective medium of expression. While the daily wet press reached many more thousands of readers than did the *Advocate*, yet the replies to these attacks published in the *Advocate* reached preachers and leading laymen in every community of the state. . . . It was a great source of strength that during the entire fourteen years of my work on the *Advocate* against the liquor traffic there was never any protest recorded by any preacher of the Virginia Conference against the positions taken in the editorial columns of the paper on that subject.

About this time when I had become sufficiently prominent in the Anti-Saloon warfare to be the target of the wet press, I also became the target for anonymous attacks. Letters of ridicule, abuse, obscenity, threats, began to pour in and have continued in greater or less volume for the past forty years. Many of these letters, evidently inspired by the liquor traffic leaders, if not written by them, endeavored to put a stop to my work by threats of what they would do to me in one way or another to wreck me physically, financially, or in reputation. One of the great Scripture texts of my life is "I will never leave thee nor forsake thee," so that we may boldly say, "The Lord is my helper and I will not fear what man shall do unto me." Whether it is because of that text or not, it is true that I have rarely had the experience of fear. I know that some of my friends have thought me to be fearless to the point of recklessness in running risks without taking full precautions against harm, but no threats which have ever been made against me have ever had any effect whatever in changing the line of conduct which I had determined to follow.

I did not realize in those early days how far enemies would really go to destroy one whom they hated or who was an obstacle to their own plans and purposes. The time-worn method in the law courts "to abuse the plaintiff's attorney" took shape, as far as I was concerned, as the method of the wet press and the friends of the liquor traffic, seeking to diminish the confidence of the people of Virginia in the sanity and sincerity of my leadership. At every successive stage of the conflict this same method has been followed with ever-increasing bitterness and virulence.

While I was publishing the *Methodist Recorder* at Blackstone, I purchased a sufficient stock of body and display type to set the articles and the advertising in the paper. I also purchased a good flat-bed press, a small job press, a paper cutter, and other appliances necessary to get out the paper properly. I made a contract with a thoroughly competent printer to come to Blackstone to do the work on the paper. He was

much interested in his work, and, as I always did while I was an editor, I frequently went to the printing house to have a conversation with the printer and to see that certain articles were set in certain type and that proper display was given. I learned to set type slowly with many typographical mistakes. I learned also how to make up the paper and to lock up the forms and get it on the press for printing. . . .

About this same time I was elected a member of the town council of Blackstone. I made no effort to secure the position and took no part in the election, but the people of the town felt that I was a citizen fully identified with the interest of the community. Shortly after my election, an application for a permit to erect a building in what was known as the fire zone of the town came before the council. The applicant was a man of position and standing and asked to be permitted to erect a frame building on a lot which he owned in the business part of the town. He said that he knew that there was an ordinance prohibiting the erection of anything but brick, stone, or metal buildings in that part of the town, but that he was unable to erect anything but a frame building. He argued that the lot was his own and that he had a right to put on it any sort of building he desired. He was a very determined man and expressed his views with great vigor before the council.

When we endeavored to convince him that we could not make an exception in his case, he bluntly defied us by saying, "All right, I will make the exception. I will go ahead and build the house and you can't stop me." And he was strong-willed, if not bull-headed, enough to have carried out his threats, but some of his closest friends and relatives finally convinced him that he would not be able to erect the building and, as I recall, he either sold the lot or erected a brick building upon it.

In my speech before the committee of the General Assembly on the Mann Law, I used this case as an illustration of the right of society to protect itself, even though it placed severe restrictions upon the rights of individual members of society. I argued that if society had the right to protect itself from the hazard of fire involved in frame buildings, surely it had the right to protect itself from the demoralization and "damnation" which came to the husbands, the brothers, and the sons of the community from the licensing of saloons.

I remember the use of the word "damnation" was seized upon by the liquor attorney and the wet press as indicating the violent and extreme language which I used in my argument for the Mann Bill. The liquor attorney shouted, "Damnation, damnation, damnation! How does that word sound coming from the lips of a messenger of the Prince of Peace?"

Asking the privilege of an interruption I quietly replied, "The Prince of Peace himself said to the Scribes and Pharisees, 'Ye serpents, ye generation of vipers, how can you escape the damnation of hell?'" The liquor attorney disputed the accuracy of my quotation, so in my reply I read from my pocket Testament a few verses of the Master's terrific denunciation of the Scribes and Pharisees.

The effort was made to create sentiment against me as an extreme and bitter fanatic by proclaiming that I had stated that liquor sellers could not escape the "damnation of hell." While I had not said that, yet it so nearly represented what I believed that I was content to allow it to go uncontradicted.

When the General Assembly met, two years later, the liquor traffic and the wet press fully realized that the Anti-Saloon League of Virginia was not a body which met to pass resolutions and then adjourn, but that it was an organization with an office, and with officers who were working every day on the platform, in the pulpit, by the printed page, to give facts concerning the saloon to the people of Virginia.

The press was especially critical and denunciatory of the method employed by the League to give the position on the liquor traffic of all candidates for the General Assembly, for lieutenant-governor, congressman, and senator, so when men announced their candidacy for the General Assembly, they were called upon to state definitely whether, if elected, they would vote for the passage of the Mann Law. Some made no reply; some endeavored to dodge the issue; but a large majority declared their position. The result was that, when the General Assembly met, it was found that a clear majority had pledged itself to vote for the Mann Bill.

Then the usual methods were employed to prevent its passage. Delay in committee hearings and reports, useless debate in the House as to the effect on the finances of the state, debate on proposed amendments—every device was tried, but all in vain. The bill passed the House by a sweeping majority, followed by appeals in the press to the Senate to defeat the bill. The passage by the Senate was met with doleful prediction of what would happen to the state as a result of the rule of the fanatics.⁸

8. This exceedingly complicated measure was approved on April 16, 1903. Essentially it prohibited the manufacture or sale of liquor without a license. Licenses were to be obtained by applying to the county, circuit, or corporation court of the county or city in which business was to be conducted. Any person might contest the granting of the application; in general, when a town or city of more than five hundred inhabitants was involved, the court might grant the license, if "fully satisfied" that the applicant was a "fit person" and the place of business suitable. If the community had

I was sitting on the floor of the Senate when the bill was passed by that body and some kind of horse play was carried out in the Senate as an amusing incident. The incident was heralded by the wet press as a sample of the result of clerical domination, calling for severe condemnation, with the added declaration that I had no right to be sitting on the floor of the Senate. As a matter of fact, as editor of the *Advocate*, reporting the work of the Assembly for the columns of that paper, just as truly as the reporters of the daily press were reporting to their papers, I had a press permit from both the Speaker of the House and from the lieutenant-governor.

The passage of the Mann Law accomplished all that Judge Mann and I had expected it would accomplish. Be it said to the honor of the circuit judges of Virginia that not one of them granted a liquor license after the passage of the Mann Law in country districts or in any village with less than five hundred inhabitants. Not one of them could honestly authorize such a license as "not contrary to the moral and material interests of the community." The results of the wiping out of many hundreds of saloons throughout the state were so beneficial that even many of the farmers who were not personally dry praised the legislation and the League for its work in securing its passage.

Later on, during the close of Judge Mann's term as governor, the wet press, in its efforts to destroy the influence of dry leaders and especially of myself, praised Judge Mann for the passage of the Mann Law as having been carried through without the help of a prohibition worker. In order to show the falsity of these statements I addressed a letter to Governor Mann, asking him to state the facts as to the influences which brought about the passage of the Mann Law; and he made full and generous reply.

About this time the prohibition sentiment was gradually developing throughout the nation. Many sections of the country were dry and were demanding protection from intoxicants shipped in from wet states. The

fewer than five hundred inhabitants, however, the court had a more difficult decision to make. "If the court be fully satisfied upon the hearing of the testimony . . . that the applicant is a fit person . . . , that the place is suitable . . . and police protection afforded," . . . that a majority of the qualified voters favors the applicant, and "that the sale of ardent spirits at that place will not be contrary to a sound public policy or injurious to the morals or the material interest of the community," the court might grant the license. If any of these conditions did not exist, the court was to refuse to grant the license. The wholesale license for the sale of all liquor cost \$350, for malt liquors only \$150. The license for retail business in cities of more than one thousand cost \$350, in other towns \$175 (*Acts and Joint Resolutions passed by the General Assembly of the State of Virginia during the Extra Session of 1902-3-4*, pp. 217 ff.). Another measure, approved Dec. 10, 1903, provided for elections to determine whether a majority of the qualified voters approved an application (*ibid.*, pp. 577-578).

Anti-Saloon League of America formulated and had introduced into Congress a bill to control interstate liquor shipments. This bill was not passed when first introduced; indeed not for about eight years. In accordance with the policy of the League, as chairman of the Legislative Committee, I addressed letters to the two United States senators, the Honorable John W. Daniel and the Honorable Thomas S. Martin.⁹ Senator Daniel made a rather vague reply stating that he had not had time to go into the matter, but that he would consider it and let me hear. As a matter of fact, he never did give me any positive reply.

Senator Martin, however, answered very promptly and definitely, and this prompt, clear reply was characteristic of all my dealings with him from that time until his death. I went to see him on my next visit to Washington, talked with him briefly, and was impressed, not only with his sincerity, but even at that date with his utter lack of sympathy with the liquor traffic and his willingness to assist in any practical remedial legislation. I did not, however, become very well acquainted with him until several years later on, when conditions in Virginia had reached such a crisis that I did seek an interview with him and expressed to him my conviction that he had a personal responsibility to me as the recognized leader of the largest group in the Democratic party [in Virginia].

Virginia Democrats at this time were classed by the press as belonging to the "Ring" or the "anti-Ring." Martin, Swanson, Flood, and Byrd were spoken of as leaders of the "Ring" with Mann, E. W. Saunders, Martin Williams, Rhea, and others as their supporters. Jones, Montague, Glass, Willard, Tucker, and Stuart were the "anti-Ring" leaders. While all these men claimed to be genuine Democrats, the relations between them were greatly strained, and they did not hesitate to denounce each other in very plain language.

For ability as an organizer, for unusual common sense, and perhaps more unusual good political sense, for success in securing the respect

9. Thomas Staples Martin (1847-1919) became active as a Democratic leader in the 1880's. In 1893 he was elected to the U. S. Senate by the Virginia General Assembly, defeating Fitzhugh Lee, nephew of General R. E. Lee. He served in the Senate from the time he took his seat in 1895 until his death. He was usually regarded as the leader of the Democratic machine in Virginia. He became a close ally of the Anti-Saloon League.

John Warwick Daniel (1842-1910) served as a major in the Confederate Army and as Virginia state senator (1875-1879). He was elected to Congress in 1884 and a year later to the Senate for the term beginning in 1887. He represented Virginia continuously until his death. His political method was by direct appeal to the masses on the principle of "white solidarity." He was never a part of the Democratic machine although associated with it. He "spurned the powerful and politically inclined Anti-Saloon League. . . ."

and the votes, not only of the people of Virginia but also the members of Congress, for clearness of vision, for driving power, for the ability to command intense loyalty from his friends and followers, I do not think that Thomas S. Martin had his equal in the political life of Virginia or in the Senate of the United States, certainly during the last ten or twelve years of his life. With all due respect to the many men whom I have met, both in Virginia and in national political life, Senator Martin towers above them all in my mind as a great floor leader of the Senate and as a man who, without the oratorical graces possessed by his colleague, Senator Daniel, was able to state plainly and clearly the issues involved in any matter before the Senate or on the hustings in Virginia with a positive vigor and sincerity rarely seen. My more intimate association with him will be mentioned later on.

After the passage of the Mann Law I urged the calling of as many local-option elections as possible in the towns and cities of Virginia which were not affected by the Mann Law. I did not believe that it was wise to rush into a useless contest, but I did stress the great educative value of a campaign before the people asking them to vote out the saloon, as it gave ample opportunity in the pulpit and on the platform and by pamphlets to state the real facts concerning the effects of the liquor traffic upon the life of the people. As a matter of fact, very few of the local-option elections held were lost, and good results followed these local campaigns.

However, when the Anti-Saloon League Convention met in 1909, the Legislative Committee was unanimous in its opinion that the time had not yet come to enter upon a state-wide prohibition campaign, but that it was better to follow the local-option policy for another year at least. The whole matter became entangled with the political contest for the governorship. It was well known throughout the state that Senator William Hodges Mann had the full support of what was called "the Ring." His position on the liquor question was well-known. He favored the abolition of the legalized liquor traffic by a state-wide prohibitory law, but he did not think that the time had come to press for the state-wide law, but that for the present the local-option policy should be continued until the sentiment of the state had been brought up to demand state-wide prohibition. . . .

During the campaign for governor this year I had my first experience with the Honorable Carter Glass,¹⁰ at that time congressman from the

10. Carter Glass (1858-1946) was a member of the Virginia Senate (1899-1909) and Democratic Representative to Congress (1902-1918). He was appointed to the Senate by the governor of Virginia in 1920 after serving two years as Wilson's Secretary of the Treasury. He remained a senator until his death.

Sixth District of Virginia, and owner of the *Lynchburg News*. Mr. Glass was for some months quite uncertain as to whether he would be a candidate for governor. He was urged by his friends of the "anti-Ring" faction to announce himself as a candidate subject to the vote in the Democratic primary.

The Honorable William Hodges Mann, who had run in the primary in 1905, and had then received the largest number of votes next to Governor Swanson, had announced that he would be a candidate. It was generally understood that he would have the support of the "Ring" leaders. The Honorable Harry St. George Tucker, who had been a member of Congress from the Tenth District, and who was known as an "anti-Ring" candidate, and also as opposed to the policy of the Anti-Saloon League of Virginia, had announced himself as a candidate.

Senator Mann had been the recognized leader of the dry people of Virginia in the General Assembly since 1902, when he introduced the Mann Bill, and later on when he sponsored other bills of lesser importance dealing with the liquor question and favorable to temperance. In the fight for the Byrd Bill [see p. 132], which was introduced by Speaker Byrd in the House of Delegates, Judge Mann, assisted especially by Senators Walker and Lincoln, led the fight for the passage of the Byrd Bill.

At this time Dr. Charles D. Bulla, a prominent member of the Baltimore Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, a member of the Executive Committee of the Anti-Saloon League of Virginia, conferred with me as to the possible effect of the entrance of Congressman Glass into the gubernatorial race. I had met Mr. Glass in three or four local-option elections in Lynchburg, where he lived, and he stated in his speeches in local option elections that he favored state-wide prohibition. In December, 1908, he had made that statement in a speech introducing Governor Glenn of North Carolina to a Lynchburg audience.

I told Dr. Bulla that a three-cornered race with two dry candidates and one wet candidate was always dangerous, and to be avoided if possible. I expressed the view, however, that I doubted whether, if Mr. Glass and Mr. Tucker should both run, that either of them would secure the nomination, as both were representatives of the "anti-Ring" faction, and that in my judgment the "Ring" supporters outnumbered the "anti-Ring" supporters, as had been shown in the recent senatorial election between Martin and Montague.

I stated also that, while there were a number of dry voters who supported the "anti-Ring" faction who might vote for Mr. Glass as an advocate of state-wide prohibition, I thought it likely that the large

majority of the dry voters would support Governor Mann, who had borne the heat and burden of the day, and that these dry voters, added to the "Ring" supporters, would give him a majority. I did think, however, that it would be far better, should the issue be clear-cut as between Mann and Tucker without a third candidate in the field.

Dr. Bulla stated that he would confer with Congressman Glass in Washington, emphasizing the danger of a triangular contest. This action was taken by Dr. Bulla. He did have a conference with Mr. Glass, and a few days later—on February 8—Mr. Glass wrote a letter to Dr. Bulla which was given to the press. In that letter Mr. Glass referred to an interview which he had given to the Richmond newspapers in which he had declared: "While I have never proposed, and do not now desire to convert my belief into a political asset, I have no objection, and never have had any, to stating the fact that I am for state-wide prohibition."

In his letter to Dr. Bulla Mr. Glass stated:

While I have long co-operated in an inconspicuous way with the State Anti-Saloon League, contributing to its campaigns, and voting against the open saloon when I could, I cannot speak for it, nor assume to direct its policies. I did not attempt to do this in my interview with the Richmond newspapers.

Mr. Glass further wrote to Dr. Bulla:

That you may feel more certainly assured of this, I desire to say that it is not my present purpose to be a candidate for Governor, and I can foresee nothing ahead that is calculated to make me alter this determination. I have been urged by some devoted friends to withhold this announcement until after the meeting of the Anti-Saloon League in State Convention at Norfolk on Tuesday. I do not think the deliberations of that Convention on this question should be had with reference to the political ambition of any man who may hope to become a candidate, or of any man who has avowed himself a candidate, and I am resolved that my proposed candidacy at least shall not be used for or against any action which the Convention may please to take; hence you are at liberty to make this letter public.

From the statements made by Mr. Glass in the press and to Dr. Bulla, I did think that whether he so intended it or not, his statements were such as to have weight in the deliberation of the Norfolk Anti-Saloon League Convention. I did not see how he could have emphasized the state-wide prohibition policy more than he had done, and when the Anti-Saloon League Convention met, there were men in the convention who had been influenced by his statements. The report of the Legislative Committee, however, was not influenced by the statements made by Mr. Glass. The recommendations of that report had been framed in

accordance with the facts as the committee saw them. The committee was just as strongly in favor of state-wide prohibition as was Mr. Glass. But the committee knew that there was no possibility of securing state-wide prohibition by legislative enactment at that time, or of securing the right to vote on the question. It therefore recommended the continuation of the local option, with an ultimate vote on state-wide prohibition.

That night, after the reading of the report, which I requested should be laid on the table until the next morning for full opportunity for reflection, I was called up over long distance telephone by Mr. Glass, to whom some friend or newspaper man had evidently telephoned the policy recommended. Mr. Glass was quite severe in his criticisms, using a vocabulary to which I was not accustomed. After the adjournment of the convention there followed a lengthy correspondence, which continued for some days.

The liquor traffic and its paid advertising allies, the wet newspapers, had confidently expected the Anti-Saloon League to make the fatal blunder of preparing prematurely for the policy of state-wide prohibition, hoping thus to make prohibition the perplexing issue in the political campaign. When the League, however, declared for a continuation of the local-option policy for the present, the wet newspapers literally screamed with rage, denounced me as a tyrannical dictator with political aims and the Anti-Saloon League Convention as a set of puppets who had endorsed my views as embodied in the report of the committee, although they held directly contrary opinions. Senator Mann, at the same convention and on the same platform, emphasized the wisdom of the local-option policy adopted by the convention. This was seized upon as positive proof of a conspiracy between Senator Mann and myself.

Although the wet press was solidly opposed to state-wide prohibition and knew that neither statutory prohibition nor an enabling act could possibly be passed by the General Assembly, yet because the convention of 1909 refused to declare for state-wide prohibition, charges were made that an unholy alliance had been made between the Anti-Saloon League and the "Ring" faction of the Democratic party.

The purpose of this charge was twofold: first, to try to persuade the people of the state at large that the Anti-Saloon League had swung from its prohibition aim into politics and had come under the domination of the "Ring" faction; second, to persuade the supporters of the Anti-Saloon League who favored the "anti-Ring" faction to denounce and desert the leadership of the Legislative Committee of the League, especially mine.

These wet tactics produced much confusion at the time, but did not

really deceive a great many dry people. The League propounded the same questions to all the candidates for governor, published their replies, and took no part whatever in the campaign, except to urge citizens to vote for the candidate who they believed would be most helpful to the prohibition cause.

I myself took my own position openly and positively as an independent citizen and voter. I declared that I would support Senator Mann because I considered him to be worthy and entirely capable of filling with ability and success the position of governor of Virginia, that he had been an earnest, uncompromising enemy of the liquor traffic, a recognized, outstanding dry leader throughout the state; moreover, that he was my close personal friend. I did not hesitate further to declare that the fact that he had the support of Martin, Swanson, Flood, Byrd, and other so-called "Ring" leaders, made no difference to me, that I was simply concerned with the election of a thoroughly dry man as governor of Virginia, and that I was glad that the dry candidate was my friend and worthy in every way of my support.

Senator Mann was nominated in the primary by a good majority. It was declared by the wet press that he had the support of the Liquor Dealers' Association of Virginia on the pledge that the state-wide law would not be enacted during his term of office. I did not know and do not now know what understanding the liquor dealers may have had with some of the supporters of Judge Mann. I know that Judge Mann himself positively asserted that he was not a party to any agreement of that kind, and that if the General Assembly should pass any advanced prohibition legislation, he would sign the bill. As I knew him to be a truthful, Christian gentleman, I did not believe then and do not believe now that he would have made such statements had they not been absolutely true.

During this period the Speaker of the House of Delegates of the General Assembly was Richard Evelyn Byrd.¹¹ He was a strong admirer and earnest supporter of Senator Martin and was considered to be one of the outstanding representatives of the "Ring." He was one of the most brilliant men with whom I was associated for nearly twenty years of my prohibition activity. A genuine friendship grew up between us. While he did not approve of all my views, nor did I all of his, yet we respected each other's differences.

11. Richard Evelyn Byrd (1860-1925) was born in Austin, Texas, but moved to Virginia and was admitted to the Virginia Bar in 1884. He was a member of the Virginia House of Delegates (1906-1914; speaker 1908-1914) and the U. S. district attorney in the western district of Virginia (1914-1920). He was the father of explorer Richard E. Byrd and Senator Harry F. Byrd.

Greatly to the consternation and dismay of the liquor traffic, Speaker Byrd introduced a bill in the General Assembly which became known after its passage as the Byrd Law. We went over together, very carefully, all the provisions of the law, which was the first real effort to put in codified form in one bill all the existing legislation concerning the liquor traffic. The part of the bill which was fought most bitterly was the provision extending the prohibition feature of the Mann Law to all towns with a population of one thousand or less. It was different from the Mann Law, however, in that no provision was made for application for license or granting the same by a court. It was, in short, statutory prohibition for all the rural districts of Virginia and for all the villages and towns with a population of less than a thousand.¹² The *Times-Dispatch* and its minor wet allies fumed and foamed, shrieking that the state was about to adopt the principle of statutory prohibition, but the people had witnessed the splendid effects of the Mann Law and spoke clearly and positively to their representatives in the General Assembly in favor of the Byrd Law.

One of the features of the Byrd Law which excited the greatest antagonism was that which classified social clubs with all other places selling intoxicating liquor, requiring the granting of a license and the same regulations as to opening and closing hours. The Virginia gentlemen of the Westmoreland, Commonwealth, and other similar clubs fought that provision of the bill and vainly endeavored to get Speaker Byrd to exempt their clubs, but he was adamant.

The bill passed both houses of the General Assembly under the leadership of Speaker Byrd, a man who was recognized as being very close to Senator Martin. I fully realized that the bill would not have been introduced and would not have passed had Senator Martin been unfavorable and had he used his influence against the measure. I became the more convinced that Senator Martin was, in fact, personally favorable to the abolition of the saloon, but that he was a wise, experienced politician as well as a statesman, and that he recognized that legislation could not be passed and carried out successfully if it was too far ahead of public sentiment.

It was a great regret to me when Speaker Byrd decided to retire from the General Assembly. While a citizen of Winchester, he continued to maintain an apartment in Richmond and I saw him frequently

12. The bill was approved March 12, 1908. It was summarized as "to define and regulate the sale, distribution, . . . manufacture, and distilling of intoxicating liquors. . . ." Its provisions were much the same as the Mann Act (1903) although more sweeping. It prohibited the granting of licenses for manufacture or sale in towns of less than *five hundred* inhabitants (*Acts of the Assembly*, pp. 275 ff.). For modification of the social club provision, see *ibid.*, 1910 (March 15, 1910), pp. 281 ff.

and, as I valued his judgment very highly, consulted with him very freely concerning all the varied legislation which was enacted while I was superintendent of the Anti-Saloon League of Virginia. I hoped that at some time he would be governor of Virginia. I sincerely mourn what I considered his untimely death.

During this same period I became intimately acquainted with a very unusual character, Colonel John P. Branch. He was a son of Thomas Branch, who was a staunch Methodist of the city of Petersburg and, if I mistake not, a member of the Virginia Convention strongly opposed to Secession, believing that a plan could be wrought out to free the Negroes by paying to their owners a fair valuation. The rash and precipitate action of South Carolina threw all plans for conservative, peaceful settlement into confusion and changed the whole situation. As a boy, while still living in Petersburg, Colonel John P. Branch was present and witnessed the organization of the First General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, held at Old Union Church, Petersburg, Virginia in 1846. . . .

After I began to have regular days in Richmond for my work on the *Advocate*, Colonel Branch would frequently call me up and ask me to come down to his office when I had spare time. I became a somewhat frequent visitor, oftentimes taking lunch with him, which he had sent into his office. He nearly always had his small glass of brandy or whiskey, I do not remember which. He told me on the first occasion, very gravely, that his physician had prescribed that amount for him with his meals. I made no comment, and we never referred to it from that day.

I recall one quite unusual incident, I think about 1912 or 1913, when the fight for the enabling act was the topic of the hour. The Virginia Conference was in session in Richmond. Brother Branch invited a number of the most prominent men in the Conference to dine with the bishop. When we had gotten well started, Colonel Branch's butler brought him his usual portion of spirits, pouring it out of a full decanter. Brother Branch, not thinking of the character of his guests, and frequently having a dinner company composed of high society folks, motioned to the butler to pass it around, which the butler did—with a grave face, but I am sure with an inward giggle.

Preachers and laymen, who were in the forefront of the fight to abolish the liquor traffic, were suddenly interrupted in their meal by having a decanter of liquor thrust under their noses with a grave inquiry of whether they would have some. And when it finally reached me, my brother-in-law, R. H. Bennett, who was sitting directly opposite, could

not suppress his amusement, but gave vent to a loud, hilarious chuckle. This did not stop the stately butler, who proceeded to offer the fiery fluid to every man at the table, although before he finished, all who had already been approached had stopped eating and, with broad grins on their faces, were watching the reactions of the invitation to drink by the unsuspecting ones who had not observed what had been going on. Brother Branch, who was deep in conversation with the bishop sitting beside him, never noticed what was going on. I have often thought what a story some ungodly reporter could have made for the Richmond papers, had he been present on that occasion.

At that time, Brother Branch was considered to be the richest man in Virginia, and worth about ten million dollars, which was a great deal of money in those days. He was a very sympathetic, kind-hearted man, and quite liberal in his gifts for what he considered to be worthy causes. . . .

He took great interest in my activities and inquired how I was managing to carry on the finances of the college at Blackstone, the *Christian Advocate*, the Anti-Saloon League, and what provisions I was making for my own family, which then included several children approaching college age. I rarely talked freely with anyone about any financial matters except those of really public concern, but his interest in me was so genuine that I talked with him more freely about my personal financial affairs than with almost any other man I ever met.

He advised me to apply whatever funds I might have to the purchase of good stock, and I did buy cotton-mill, coal-mine, and similar stock. He then suggested that I buy railroad and industrial stock on a margin to be bought and sold for a profit. I had a lengthy discussion with him as to the ethics of the purchase of stocks and bonds on margin, and carefully and with some hesitation raised the question of gambling. He turned on me quite abruptly and said, "Do you think I am carrying on a gambling business? If you do, you should bring charges against me and have me put out of the church." And then he added, "And not against me only, but against thousands of men, who are members of our Methodist churches, many of them stewards and of the highest standing in their communities."

I told him that I would have to think about it. I did think the matter over very thoroughly, and I became convinced then that trading in stocks which represented certain values was not different in any way from trading in timber stumpage, building lots, and anything else which was bought and sold to obtain a profit. Following this wise counsel of Brother Branch, I bought and sold a variety of stocks through

the firm of Thomas Branch and Company. When Monument Avenue in Richmond was opened up, Brother Branch had secured a large number of desirable lots. He offered to sell me some of the best at small profit to him with comparatively small cash payments, the balance to run one, two, three, and four years.

I told him that I had no use for lots on Monument Avenue, that I would never want to build a home there, and if I did want to do so, I would never have the money to build one suitable for that neighborhood. He replied promptly that it was simply a matter of investment, that there was no question that the lots would rapidly increase in value and that by a small cash payment I would be able to hold them and could sell them at any time I desired before the heavier payments came due.

Following this advice I did purchase some Monument Avenue lots from Brother Branch, and sold them later at a very good profit. They were bought on a margin exactly as I bought stocks, the lots themselves being security for balance due on them.

Sometimes when I called on Brother Branch in his office, I met men of the business world and of the society group with whom I was not acquainted, such as Joseph Bryan, George Stevens, James H. Dooley, and others. They always treated me respectfully as one of Brother Branch's Methodist preachers, but I could always sense some surprise on their part that I was a comparatively pleasant, mild-mannered man and not a grim-faced ogre with proverbial horns, hoofs, and a tail, and a base conspirator with Dick Byrd to curtail the drinking privileges of Virginia gentlemen.

The carrying on of these and other business transactions did not in any way minimize my activity in the work either of Blackstone College, the *Advocate*, or the Anti-Saloon League. They did give me a broader and better understanding of business life in general and the basic principles underlying trading between businessmen. Neither the college, nor the *Advocate*, nor the Southern Assembly, nor the Richmond *Virginian* could have been carried on and secured the results which I was laboring to secure, had business methods been ignored.

Of course, the business part of all the various activities in which I was interested required thought, energy, and time. But I was not conscious then, nor do I believe that my readers or my hearers thought that my writing, my public speaking, or my regular Sunday preaching was lowered in tone, was less definite in its high aim, or less effective in producing desired results because I was obliged to administer purely business matters in order to secure those results.

About this same time there arose the apparent necessity of spending

more and more time riding on trains and steamboats, which gradually assumed such proportions that it had to be reckoned with in carrying on my work. I stuffed my bag with my letters, with papers, magazines, and books, and after some experience developed a plan which became a fixed habit. I always take, if possible, a front seat in the smoking car, where there is a seat in front of me on which to put my bag and rest my feet, and there I can give myself up to steady reading and writing, even less interruptedly than if I were home, or in either one of my Richmond offices with frequent callers and the always imperative telephone. As I do not smoke, few people have ever thought of looking for me in the smoking car, and on the front seat I get little of the smoke which drifts backward instead of forward. I think that fully half of my editorial writing and my numerous articles entitled "Leaves from My Note Book" have been written riding on trains or steamers. I rarely use bus service. It is impossible to be private and one cannot read at night.

I learned one exceedingly valuable lesson in my college days, namely, the great importance of concentration upon any one subject while it was under consideration. That was always of incalculable value in the saving of time by never allowing different matters to divide my thinking at the same time. So in my reading and my writing I have learned to shut out everything except the subject directly before me until my work on that subject is completed.

It may seem that I am placing undue emphasis on this point, but my definite decision in my early college days to become a Methodist preacher has never been abated in the slightest degree. After I left the pastorate, through all the years of my educational, editorial and general reform activities I preached as many sermons yearly as the average pastor, although during all these years I was carrying on important business operations with the full knowledge of the Church. And, as far as I know, I never engaged in any work which did not receive commendation of official bodies of the Church.

Virginia (1909-1918)

Following the Anti-Saloon League Convention in 1909 and the primary election for the gubernatorial nomination between Mann and Tucker . . . , the wet newspapers became more and more abusive and slanderous. They did not simply attack prohibition legislation and the prohibition movement, but they deliberately attacked and misrepresented in every conceivable way the dry workers of Virginia. Most of them not only refused to give space to any corrections of glaring mistakes,

but to any defense by individuals against attacks made upon them by these wet newspapers. It is true that the dry leaders had the regular Anti-Saloon League paper and that I had the *Christian Advocate* in which to answer these misrepresentations of abuse and slander, but it was not an intermittent attack. It was continuous, almost daily, the purpose being to compel their readers to believe in the truthfulness of their slanders by persistent reiteration.

Finally, after several consultations with Brother J. Sidney Peters, my copartner in the *Advocate*, we called together in conference a number of dry leaders to consider raising \$100,000 to start a dry daily newspaper in Richmond. I told the group very frankly that without some medium of daily expression going out into the homes and touching the business life of the state I thought that a state-wide prohibitory law would be delayed for several years, and I then forecast what actually occurred, that we must have a daily dry newspaper in Richmond for at least ten years.

By that time I had formed real friendships with a number of well-to-do men in Virginia. They were intensely interested in the abolition of the legalized liquor traffic, and were willing to contribute from a thousand to five thousand dollars each to establish the paper. I was encouraged by the spirit of the first meeting and by the support which was given the project, but upon reflection I realized that to secure one hundred thousand dollars someone would be obliged to provide more than five thousand dollars. I also foresaw that in all probability one hundred thousand dollars would not meet the need, but that large supplementary amounts would be required.

I went home and laid the whole matter before my wife. At that time I had accumulated sufficient money to build a home for my family with such comforts and surroundings as I desired them to have. I had decided that the time had come for me to resign as president of Blackstone Institute and to give myself entirely to the *Advocate* and social reform work. My wife and I had talked many times concerning the kind of home we wanted to have. We had seven living children, five boys and two girls, ranging in age from three to twenty. We had lost one beautiful boy, Paul, of two years of age, and a little girl who died within a few hours after birth. We were then both about forty-five years old and looked forward to many years in our own home with our children and later with our grandchildren about us. We were both really somewhat dismayed at the idea of postponing our plans and risking a large part of our resources in an enterprise which had little promise of

financial success, even though it might seem necessary for the advancement of a great moral cause.

The matter was not settled in a day or in a week. While I did not want to throw too great a responsibility upon my wife, yet I felt that I could not give up or postpone uncertainly or indefinitely the plans which we had agreed upon and which had been in our minds for some time past without her hearty approval. She reached her own decision without pressure from me. She had been deeply stirred by the various attacks which had been made upon me by the daily press during the previous ten years and was fully cognizant that their purpose was, if possible, to drive me out of the work which I was trying to do. Moreover, she was a clear-headed woman and took the long view. She thought that if the paper should be established, it would of necessity have to face bitter opposition from the wet press, that every effort would be made to drive it out of the field, and that probably more and more money would be required to maintain it successfully. She finally reached her decision and told me that she thought success of a great cause like prohibition was too important, not only to the other people of Virginia, but to ourselves [and] our own children, for any purely personal considerations to stand in the way.

Thus we fairly faced the issue. It was our home or the *Richmond Virginian*, a dry daily paper for Virginia. We decided for the *Richmond Virginian* in 1909, and when at varying stages during the ten years it became necessary to find more money to maintain the paper and carry on the warfare in which we were engaged, there was no hesitation, but by far the greater part of the money which we had set aside, a total of nearly sixty-five thousand dollars, went into the paper, and in addition thousands of dollars were borrowed to maintain it until not only state-wide but nation-wide prohibition had been won.

The above statement is due to my noble wife, for without her consent to forgo the plans for domestic comfort so dear to a woman's heart there would have never been any *Richmond Virginian*, and of course there would never have been the great work which it accomplished during its ten years.

So the *Richmond Virginian* was established, and for the next nine years I had three offices in Richmond, the *Advocate*, the *Virginian*, and the Anti-Saloon League. We were fortunate in securing an unusually able managing editor and business manager in the person of Mr. Solon B. Woodfin, who had been for many years managing editor of the *Times*, later the *Times-Dispatch*, but from the very first we were handicapped by our inability to secure membership in the Associated Press,

and at that time there was no other well-developed news service. The objection to granting membership in the Associated Press was ostensibly that Richmond was not large enough to maintain two morning papers, although there had been two there for many years, and also doubt was expressed as to the financial backing, and therefore the permanence of the *Virginian*.

There was no difficulty in securing ample local and state news, but as I read the *Virginian* and the *Times-Dispatch* day by day, I recognized that the *Virginian* without a national and international press service could not compete in news value with the Richmond or Norfolk papers. The fact that the paper was avowedly for prohibition and was established as a protest against the attitude and treatment of the other Richmond dailies did not make it popular with many of the largest advertisers in Richmond, who themselves did not favor prohibition and had no interest in promoting a newspaper which did. Moreover, these merchants realized that unless hundreds or thousands of people subscribed to the *Virginian* who were not then taking any daily paper it would be simply an added expense for them to advertise in two morning papers instead of one as heretofore.

Under these adverse conditions, especially with such inadequate news service, the fact that the *Virginian* continued to carry on its work for ten years is striking evidence of the loyalty that thousands of subscribers felt for the great causes which the *Virginian* was founded to advocate and for which it did help to win decisive victories. Not the least of these was the ultimate driving out of the Bryan interests from the control of the *Times-Dispatch*, because of the repudiation of their policies by the people of Virginia.

In January, 1910, Senator John W. Daniel died, and within a reasonable time Governor Mann appointed Congressman Claude Augustus Swanson to succeed him in the United States Senate. While Governor Mann had the matter under consideration, some friends of mine, without any consultation with me, however, urged Governor Mann to appoint me to the vacancy. When I heard of this, I at once wrote to Governor Mann, disclaiming any knowledge of the action taken by my friends, or any desire whatever on my part for any public office, stating also that the only reason whatever which might cause me to desire to have him to make such an appointment would be to give me the opportunity to refuse it, and thus put a stop forever to any intimation that I had any political ambitions. . . .

The wet newspapers, having learned that my friends had approached Governor Mann, tried to make capital of the matter, but Governor Mann

himself stated that my friends had said to him that they had come without my knowledge and, they felt sure, contrary to my wishes; so the attack produced small effect.

In the primary then held for the nomination of a new senator, the candidates were Senator Swanson and Congressman Glass. It was a clear-cut conflict between the "Ring" and "anti-Ring" forces, similar to the one which had been fought previously by ex-Governor Montague and Senator Martin. The Anti-Saloon League queried both Swanson and Glass as to their position relative to prohibition legislation pending in Congress and the reply of both being satisfactory, the League took no part in the contest.

Personally, I was an open, positive advocate of the election of Senator Swanson. My experience in 1909 with Congressman Glass had caused me to consider him to be a man of too strong and violent prejudices to be elected senator. Moreover, my personal relations with Senator Swanson had been quite intimate while we were students at Randolph-Macon College, and we had maintained our friendship down through the years. . . .

Of course the wet newspapers, while not coming out strongly in opposition to Senator Swanson, emphasized that I was supporting him because he was a "Ring" man, and that Glass was recognized as a much dryer man than Swanson. Congressman Glass conducted an intensely personal, denunciatory, even vituperative campaign. He not only attacked Senator Swanson's record in Congress, but he attacked him personally. By that time I had begun to understand the people of Virginia fairly well, and I predicted the nomination of Swanson by a good majority, which prediction was fulfilled. I do not think the majority would have been as large but for the character of Mr. Glass's campaign, as is indicated by some quotations from the daily press.

The Richmond *News Leader* of April 1, 1911, reports:

Carter Glass of Lynchburg opened his campaign for the United States Senate at the Academy of Music last night with sweeping and wholesale denunciations of the trickery and tyranny of the Democratic machine in the state. In the course of his remarks Congressman Glass alluded with some heat to an unholy alliance between the preachers and the barkeepers in the last gubernatorial election, a combination in which Jim Trehy, of Norfolk, and James Cannon, of Richmond, lined up certain barkeepers and preachers cheek by jowl to cast their ballots together for the same candidate. . . .

Later on the *Times-Dispatch* of September 5, 1911, reports Congressman Glass as saying in a speech at the Jefferson Hotel: "He can't tell the truth about anything," and as further stating that in the early Democratic primary in Franklin County three hundred and fifty Republicans

were voted so that they would be in a position "to help Claude out."

In a speech the same night at Liberty Hall, Richmond, he declared that in the last primary election "the graves were robbed for votes. To-day the executive robes smell of the musk of the tomb. Nobody will ever know who was elected, Mann or Tucker." These words the *Times-Dispatch* reports Congressman Glass used time after time with sarcasm. He declared that his opponent, Senator Swanson, had been associated with the Republican thieves, Machen and Beavers, who were sent to the penitentiary. Glass further declared in the same speech: "I am told certain temperance leaders are for him. Well, the liquor dealers helped the temperance people to elect their Governor. It looks like the temperance people are going now to help the liquor dealers elect their candidate for the Senate and thus help Claude out."

In one of his campaign speeches Congressman Glass stated that he was once informed by Senator Martin that Senator Daniel had told him that he (Daniel) charged Swanson to his face of being guilty of betraying his friends. Senator Swanson in a statement given to the press declared that the derogatory and abusive statements by Glass concerning him were false, and published a telegram from Senator Martin, as follows:

"I made no such statement to Glass. Daniel never made it to me. You have my full authority to deny it as you think it should be denied for me."

This flat contradiction by Senator Martin was very hurtful to Congressman Glass.

The above quotations indicate the resentment and anger of Congressman Glass toward me because of my openly declared determination to support my friend, Senator Swanson, as against my hot-headed correspondent of 1909, Congressman Glass.

The result of this abusive, vituperative, vindictive campaign was the repudiation of Congressman Glass by the people of Virginia by a vote of [approximately twenty thousand] for Glass to [fifty thousand] for Swanson. Had he not made any campaign at all Congressman Glass would have received a larger proportionate vote, for he showed himself to be utterly unable to carry on a political platform campaign without descending to abusive, vituperative personal attacks upon his opponent. The spirit manifested in this campaign has been characteristic of him throughout his public career. Fortunately for him, he has never, since 1911, been called upon to make a contest on the platform for election to the senatorship, having been appointed to that office by Governor Davis upon the death of Senator Martin, and never having had any organized opposition for re-election. In the national campaign of 1928, however,

when he campaigned the state for the election of Governor Smith, he manifestly followed the same spirit and method, indulging in abuse and vilification, some of it proved to be false, which his vindictive spirit, however, would not permit him to withdraw.

In this same year, 1911, the Anti-Saloon League Convention was held at Newport News. The report of the Legislative Committee laid great emphasis upon the part which the wet newspapers were playing in the battle against the effort of the League to secure state-wide prohibition. They were characterized in their proper light as the most potent ally of the liquor traffic. The following paragraph is from the Legislative Report of 1911:

In this warfare the most potent ally of the traffic is the wet press. These wet papers in their news and editorial columns minimize the evils of the saloon and emphasize the violation of the law in dry territory, not in order to insist upon the punishment of the offenders, but to persuade the people that it is folly to expect the liquor traffic to keep the law, and therefore it should be given license to set traps for our children and to accomplish their ruin. In their advertising columns they print fake statements concerning the helpful (?) effects obtained by the use of certain brands of intoxicants and sell their space to circulate statements which are false and sometimes slanderous and to inform persons where they can obtain intoxicants over the bar, and from whom they can order it to be shipped into dry territory. They are the purchased allies of the dramseller, the drummers for the trade, and we believe that the owners of such papers, and all those who derive profit from this source are equally as responsible in the sight of Almighty God as those who sell the liquor to the men who have been informed by the newspapers for pay where the liquors can be obtained. Some of these papers carry yard after yard of these advertisements in their news and editorial columns "sacrificed to their net, and burn incense to their drag, because by them their portion is fat and their meat plenteous." It is difficult to estimate the effect produced upon the average reader by the constant repetition of misrepresentation of conditions by the wet press.

This just classification of the wet newspapers as in the same class with the saloonkeepers, bartenders, brewers, and distillers was followed literally by howls of rage in the sanctums of those papers. I was especially branded as a villain, responsible for such insulting characterization. It was declared that I did not properly represent the Church in this matter. The climax was reached by the publication of an editorial in the *Times-Dispatch* which had assumed for itself the title of "Supreme in Virginia". . . .

As an aftermath to this bitter attack, at the next session of the Virginia Conference, November, 1911, the Committee on Temperance

brought in a report in which the same paragraph characterizing the wet newspapers was contained. This report was adopted by a rising vote of the Conference, none voting in the negative, thus obliterating absolutely the statements of the wet press that I did not represent the views of the great Virginia Conference. Indeed, if possible, to give emphasis to the support of the Conference in resolutions concerning my election as superintendent of the Southern Assembly, the Conference said:

We congratulate the Southern Assembly upon securing such an able, progressive and untiring man to inaugurate so great an enterprise.

We desire to express our heartfelt appreciation and gratitude of the great work Dr. Cannon has done in our Conference. No member of our body, useful as many of them have been, has done work which has meant more to the great causes of Christian education and of Temperance reform than he has.

The Conference was held in my own town of Salisbury, Maryland, among the people of whom my father and mother had been the leaders for so many years, and two beautiful stained glass windows in memory of them faced the daily sessions of the Conference. I have never enjoyed any Conference as much, surrounded as I was by many friends of my parents, and in a lesser degree of myself, and supported by the Conference against the most vicious form of hostile criticism. I trust I may be pardoned for inserting at this point a statement made by Dr. John Hannon in his report of the Conference proceedings: "Our Dr. James Cannon was on his native heath and at his best. Brave, true, simple-hearted, planning great things and doing great things for the Church. Thank God for his masterly sermon on Sanctification."

When the General Assembly of Virginia met in the winter of 1912, as the result of the splendid work which had been done by the Anti-Saloon League, and its effective ally, the Richmond *Virginian*, a large majority of the House of Delegates had been elected positively committed to the passage of the enabling act, giving to the people of Virginia the right to vote on a state-wide prohibition law.¹³ The enabling act was passed in the House of Delegates by a sweeping majority. When it reached the Senate, although it was clear that the House of Delegates represented the views of the people, it was held unnecessarily in committees until near the end of the session. It fell to my lot to make the

13. The enabling act was "A House Bill to provide for the calling and holding of an election upon the question of prohibiting the manufacture for sale and the sale of intoxicating liquors, and to declare the effect of the result of such election; and to provide penalties for the violation of the provisions of this act" (*Journal of the House of Delegates of the State of Virginia for the Session of 1914*, p. 134). For final text of the measure approved Feb. 18, 1914, see *Acts . . . of the General Assembly. . .*, 1914, pp. 20 ff.

closing argument before the Senate Committee in favor of the passage of the bill. I emphasized:¹⁴

First. [That to allow the people to vote] is sound Democratic doctrine. One of the speakers has declared that he is a Democrat and favored local option because that is the platform of the Democratic party. It would be interesting to hear this gentleman attempt to reconcile the present prohibitory liquor legislation of Virginia with local option. The Mann Law and the Byrd Law were both passed by Democratic legislatures and signed by Democratic governors. . . . These measures were bitterly fought by the same gentlemen who are now fighting the enabling act. . . , and yet their protests went unheeded. . . . The Democratic party has by its action declared that the liquor question is a matter of expediency, and must be settled in accordance with the prevailing conditions.

I quoted at this point with great effect a statement from a letter written by Governor Woodrow Wilson to Mr. E. W. Grogan¹⁵ of Texas, a copy of which Governor Wilson had sent me only a few days before. In this letter Governor Wilson declared: "I believe that in some states, state-wide prohibition is possible and desirable because of their relative homogeneity, while for others I think state-wide prohibition is not practical. I have no reason to doubt from what I know of the circumstances that state-wide prohibition is both practicable and desirable in Texas."

Here Governor Wilson, while not declaring himself to be a prohibitionist, did declare that state-wide prohibition was both practicable and desirable in the state of Texas, and certainly does not intimate that prohibition is not a sound Democratic doctrine.

Second. The bill should be passed because of the great number of persons petitioning for its passage insisting that they be given an opportunity to record their votes on the question of state-wide prohibition.

Third. The bill should be passed because of the standing and character of the persons asking for this legislation. The Baltimore, the Holston, and the Virginia Annual Conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, the Baptist General Association of Virginia—these bodies representing the overwhelming majority of the Protestant denominations in this state; the Farmers' Cooperative Union—all these and many others are calling upon the

14. The original of the autobiography is inconsistent here. All of the following testimony was apparently supposed to be a direct quotation, but the wording was substantially changed from the original as recorded in the *Richmond Virginian*. In editing the manuscript, therefore, the part of the testimony that is almost the same as the recorded testimony has been altered to conform exactly with a typed copy of the testimony taken from the *Richmond Virginian* and filed in the Cannon manuscripts. Matter that has been paraphrased is enclosed in brackets.

15. In the original of the testimony, this name is given as Mr. E. B. Byars.

Senate of Virginia to pass this bill which has already passed the House of Delegates by a majority of two to one.

I frankly admitted that there were people "of high social standing and of excellent moral character" who were opposed to the passage of this bill, "but in all kindness and in all due deference to these gentlemen it must be asserted that they are in very bad company," for every saloon and every dive, the gambling hells, the red light districts, the toughs, the profligates, and all the criminal classes are bitterly opposed to the passage of the bill. . . . Shall not the Senate of Virginia consider the facts that the criminal elements of the state are all joined together against this bill. . . . In its editorial of February 26, the *News Leader* "called upon the Senate of Virginia to stand firm against this combination of the Puritan, the weaklings and blacklegs." Are they the Methodist and Baptist preachers and laymen? Are they the educators, preachers and laymen who appeared before the Committee of the House of Delegates? In which class are Dr. Young, Dr. Pitt, Dr. Welford and Dr. McDaniel, outstanding ministers of Virginia? To which class belong Speaker Byrd, Captain Baker, Mr. Bowman, Captain Jennings and other leading members of the House of Delegates; or Senators Walker, Saunders, West and Mapp? Is it not ridiculous for this Bryan sheet with its record to call upon the Senate of Virginia to do its duty?

The Richmond *Virginian*, in its report of the meeting, declared:

. . . the closing feature of Dr. Cannon's speech was an emphatic and convincing defense of the motives of the men who were the field workers of the Anti-Saloon League in the fight against the liquor traffic of Virginia, who had been slandered by a member of the House of Delegates as ministers compelled to quit the pulpit in order to make a living. Dr. Cannon declared that the four men who were paid officials of the Anti-Saloon League in its work had been urged by him and the Headquarters Committee of the League to leave charges paying good salaries to take up this work, and there was not one but could return to the pulpit at a larger salary than the Anti-Saloon League could afford to pay.

Dr. Cannon declared that as for himself he had never yet accepted one dollar for any service that he had performed for the Anti-Saloon League of Virginia. He emphasized that any accusation by any newspaper or individual that he was working in the temperance cause for political motives was absolutely and unqualifiedly false.

At that point of his address he read a letter received that day from Governor Mann in response to a request for a copy of a letter written to Governor Mann shortly after his nomination for governor in 1909. Governor Mann's letter stated that he had received a letter from Dr. Cannon after his nomination for governor in which Dr. Cannon stated that he did not propose to recommend any applicants for office, that his fight in the state was for a moral issue, and that he had already absolutely refused to recommend

a number of people who had applied to him. Governor Mann further stated that Dr. Cannon had made but one recommendation to him for appointment and that was on moral grounds.

After reading this letter I concluded my address with the statement:

I have read this letter [from Governor Mann] because I have been accused [by the wet press and the liquor traffic generally] of using my influence as a temperance worker for political purposes, when as a matter of fact I have absolutely refused to recommend personal friends for office . . . because I did not desire to compromise myself in the slightest degree in purely political matters lest my efficiency as a worker in the field of moral reform be impaired.

Gentlemen, my hatred of the liquor traffic began at the time when, as a boy, I went with my good mother in her carriage as she ministered to the poor of the community, whose lives had been made miserable by the curse of strong drink. When my mother died and she lay in her coffin, the little badge of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union was the only ornament on her dress. As I looked down upon it and thought how she had worked against the traffic, and had tried to relieve its awful results, I made a solemn pledge that by the help of God, I would do all in my power to destroy it. And all the abuse and slander and vilification which can be heaped upon me by persons or papers, will not move me from the work.

Gentlemen of the Committee, we ask you for a favorable report upon the bill. Give the people of Virginia the right to decide for themselves whether intoxicating liquors shall be sold in Virginia.

On January 25, 1912, I had written to Senator Thomas S. Martin, asking for his support of a resolution to protect Virginia dry territory from interstate liquor shipments. Senator Martin made prompt reply and declared:

I am in full accord with the purpose of the resolution and will do everything in my power to secure legislation that will prevent the exercise of any National power under the Interstate Commerce clause of the Constitution so as to prevent the state of Virginia from controlling as it may see fit the question of bringing liquor from another state into dry territory in Virginia. I believe the state should be supreme in the matter, and if I can secure legislation to that effect it will be a pleasure for me to do so. I do not believe the Revenue Department of the National Government should issue any license authorizing the sale of liquor in territory where Virginia forbids it. I can assure you that everything I can do in respect to the matter will be done.

Yours very truly,
THOMAS S. MARTIN

Encouraged by this positive attitude expressed by Senator Martin, on February 23 I wrote Senator Martin a somewhat lengthy letter em-

phasizing what I believed to be his responsibility in reference to the passage of the enabling act then before the Senate of Virginia. As this letter is quite important from more than one angle, I am quoting portions of it for purposes of record.

RICHMOND, VA., Feb. 23, 1912

Hon. Thomas S. Martin
Senate Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR MARTIN:

I received your message that you certainly would not take any part in the matter of the enabling act, that I could be satisfied on that point. Of course, looked at from one viewpoint that would be quite satisfactory, as I am convinced that if you were to take a position against the bill it would be fatal to its chances for success. But looked at from another standpoint that assurance is not quite so satisfactory. Certainly if I have any powers of discernment, the passage or defeat of the enabling act by the Democratic Senate will have more bearing upon the interests of the Democratic party of Virginia during the next two years than any other question before the people at the present time. The defeat of the enabling act in the Senate by the votes of senators who are known to be in close touch with the Democratic administration will arouse such resentment that it will be impossible to prevent decided actions on the part of a large number of voters who have been willing up to the present time to believe that the Administration wing of the Democratic party is willing to treat the temperance people fairly. The temperance people throughout the state believe that the Democratic Organization can settle this matter if it desires to do so, and at our recent Convention, where men were in attendance from every part of Virginia, there was a most decided unequivocal expression of determination to hold the Democratic administration responsible for the defeat of the bill should it be defeated. I am not discussing the *justice* of this view now, but I am simply stating a *fact* to be reckoned with. . . . There are a number of us who have not hesitated to openly support candidates favored by the present Democratic Organization, *not because we have ever made any bargain so to do as has been falsely asserted by our enemies, but which you know to be absolutely false*, but because we thought that the present organization was equally as good as those who were aiming to come into power. But those temperance people who have been supporting the organization feel that they should be given a reasonable amount of support which they ask, and if they do not receive it they will be placed in a position where they can no longer defend the Organization against the attacks of those who urge that the *Democratic Organization is unwilling to do anything that will antagonize the whiskey element in the cities*. If the enabling act is passed it must be passed by the vote of Organization senators, and if it can be honestly said that the Organization has been favorable to the passage of the act it will give to many of us who feel kindly

toward the Organization an opportunity to defend it during the coming years. . . .

I am writing you the above as a well-wisher, as one who has supported you in the face of a great deal of unjust personal criticism and abuse of myself at the hands of the wet newspapers because I have believed that you were during both campaigns the better qualified man of the two. But if the enabling act is defeated by the vote of the Organization senators from the Fourth, Eighth and Tenth Districts, the senators of all which districts ought to vote for the bill, as their constituents are represented by dry members in the House of Delegates, what other conclusion can be reached but that if these Organization senators vote against the enabling act, and insist upon protecting the liquor interests, then a clearly moral issue has been raised. How then can men, who like myself, believe that a moral question is more important than purely political questions, be expected to support the Organization should this moral issue be defeated by the vote of Organization senators? In saying this I am simply stating the conviction not only of myself, but of thousands of other persons who will not be able to reach any other conclusion but that the Organization, through its representatives in the State Senate, is protecting the liquor traffic, and is preventing the people from having a chance to destroy the traffic in a fair and open fight.

Is it not the part of wisdom, therefore, for the Democratic Organization to bestir itself, aye, to use every possible effort to take this moral question out of the realm of party politics? Does not the vote in the House of Delegates last night prove that if the Senate defeats this bill the next two years will witness the most bitter fight the state has ever known? Every man must decide for himself what is his duty, but it does seem to me that as the leader of the Democratic party in Virginia in the Senate of the United States your interest in the Democratic party would demand that you see to it that the liquor question be removed from the political field.

I am sending copies of this letter to Senator Swanson and Congressman Flood. I cannot stress too strongly to you gentlemen the general feeling throughout the state that you three gentlemen, representing the Organization, can determine this question.

This is the most important statement I have ever made to the leaders of the Democratic Organization. I have met my responsibility and delivered my soul. They can now meet theirs in whatever way seems best to them.

Yours sincerely,

JAMES CANNON, JR.

The above letter was mailed on the noon train to Washington, special delivery. After it was mailed, I received a telegram calling me to Washington for a conference on the Webb-Kenyon Bill, which we were then getting in shape to present to Congress.¹⁶ After meeting with the com-

16. The Webb-Kenyon Act was passed by Congress over Taft's veto on March 1, 1913. It was the first important federal victory for the Anti-Saloon League. Its purpose was to

mittee, I received a telephone call from Senator Martin, who stated he had received my letter and had learned that I had come to Washington that day for a conference on the Webb-Kenyon Bill, and that he and Senator Swanson would be glad to see me that night. I met the two senators in Senator Martin's office, and discussed with them fully and freely the contents of my letter which they had received that afternoon. I laid special emphasis on the fact that the temperance leaders had been abused and vilified on the ground that the Democratic Organization had made a bargain with the Anti-Saloon League to support Judge Mann for governor with the understanding that no additional liquor legislation would be passed during his administration.

I emphasized the statement made in my letter that such a bargain had never been made, and that they knew the accusation to be absolutely false; that if any bargain had been made by the administration leaders, the Anti-Saloon League knew nothing of it and would never have agreed to be a party to any such agreement. I insisted, however, that the present situation seemed to give color to the accusation of a bargain between the Democratic Organization and the liquor dealers, and that it was difficult, in view of the facts we confronted, to prevent our temperance people from believing that the Organization senators from the Fourth, Eighth, and Tenth Districts were opposing the enabling act under orders from the Organization.

Senator Martin made prompt, candid reply, with which Senator Swanson agreed. Both of them stated positively that they were taking no part in the fight for or against the enabling act, that they had no objection whatever to its passage, but they stated that some of the [state] senators from the districts I have mentioned had given pledges to vote against the bill, and they could not insist that those senators violate their pledges. I was satisfied that Senator Martin personally really favored the passage of the enabling act, and that Senator Swanson was not really opposed to it, but that both of them felt under the circumstances they could do nothing more than to keep hands off. I did not agree with them and told them so, and that night after getting back to my office in Washington, I wrote the following note:

WASHINGTON, D. C., Feb. 23, 1912

Hon. Thomas S. Martin
Senate Chamber

DEAR MR. MARTIN:

I have gone over very carefully in my mind our interview tonight. I prohibit the shipment of intoxicating liquors into any state, territory, or district where the sale of liquor was illegal (*U. S. Statutes at Large*, XXXVII, Pt. 1, p. 699).

have read over my letter sent you today and can only repeat in all honesty and sincerity what I said in that letter: "I have met my responsibility and delivered my soul. They (the leaders of the Democratic Organization) can now meet theirs in whatever way seems best to them."

Hastily and sincerely,

JAMES CANNON, JR.

The above letters are given to indicate my actual relations with the Democratic Organization, the leader of which was generally recognized as Senator Martin, with Swanson, Flood, and Byrd as his able lieutenants. I honestly believed that Senator Martin was as able a leader of the political life of Virginia as could be found. I knew that he and his friends throughout the state had far more influence than any other political group. Without their support I knew that it would be exceedingly difficult to secure a state-wide prohibition law and the statutes necessary for proper enforcement.

I made no apologies then nor since for the position which I took, but I never at any time made any bargain with the so-called "Ring" concerning the passage of prohibition laws. The letters quoted above show there was no bargain, that I did not hesitate to express my belief in the real responsibility of the leaders for the defeat of the enabling act.

When the vote was taken in the Senate it was defeated, sixteen for, twenty-four against. Following up my letters to Senators Martin and Swanson and Congressman Flood, I gave editorial expression to exactly the same position. After the vote was taken, I wrote an editorial entitled "What Do the Leaders Say?"

The most disgraceful record for twenty-five years was placed on the Journal of the Senate of 1912. The people should find out who is responsible and what influences were exerted to bring about the result. The Democratic party is dominant in Virginia. Is it willing, as a party, to be held responsible for the record made by the Senate of 1912? Do the leaders of that party propose to allow the "wet" cities of Virginia to defeat all moral legislation? If not, let the party and its leaders repudiate it, then the moral sentiment of Virginia will repudiate the leaders, and if the party organization, as an organization, should stand for the record of 1912, then the moral sentiment of Virginia would repudiate that party organization. It might as well be understood now, at the open grave of the session of 1912, that any attempt to make the record of the Senate of 1912 the record of the Democracy of Virginia will not be tolerated by the people. They will not agree that Democracy shall be made synonymous with the protection of saloons, gambling, fraudulent registration, etc. The parting of the ways has been reached in this matter, and if the party leaders and the

party organizations do not repudiate the record of 1912, then there are many thousands of voters who will certainly repudiate both the leaders and the organization, and they will do so for the good of the Democratic party and the State of Virginia. Moral issues are supreme, and party policy must conform to aroused moral sentiment, or the framers of the party policy will go down in defeat, and the new man will be selected who will conform the party policy to moral sentiment.

The disgraceful record of the Senate of Virginia of 1912 has been made. The question today is, Will the leaders of the Democratic party endorse or repudiate that record? And let no man who aspires to be the leader of the party think that the Christian citizenship of Virginia will allow him to escape giving a reply to that question. Do they approve it, or do they repudiate it? Do they stand by the House of Delegates or by the Senate? Yes or No? . . .

Concerning this spectacular fight in the General Assembly, Dr. R. H. Pitt declared in the *Religious Herald*:

Speaking for the friends of the measure, who are not officially connected with the Anti-Saloon League, and especially for ourselves, we desire to express the highest and most grateful appreciation of the labor and sacrifice, of the courage, energy and resourcefulness of the leaders of the League, and especially to Dr. James Cannon, Jr., who without price has remained in Richmond in this interest to the neglect of his own private affairs for weeks at a time. He has endured untold reproach and abuse, but has never faltered. We hold no brief for him, but we write this simple and sincere tribute to him and to his leadership as a plain matter of ordinary justice.

This defeat was a great disappointment to the dry people throughout the state, but I was neither surprised nor discouraged, and began to plan at once for the next two years.

First and foremost the financial condition of the Richmond *Virginian*, demanded prompt attention. The first hundred thousand dollars enabled us to put the paper on its feet, to make it known throughout the state, and to indicate what a tremendous value it was to our cause to have such a voice speaking daily for moral reform. The legislature adjourned at noon on Saturday, and within two hours the Reverend J. Sidney Peters and I were on the way to Lancaster County to see Colonel W. McD. Lee and Mr. Joseph F. Bellows, one of the outstanding laymen of our Church, a strong advocate of prohibition and a man of great liberality toward any cause in which he believed. We reached the home of Brother Bellows in time for supper Saturday night, and after supper discussed fully the prohibition situation throughout the state, the continued need for the Richmond *Virginian* for at least four years longer, and the present financial situation of the *Virginian*.

Brother Bellows was a good listener, but himself a man of few words. At the end of our conference he said that he would give twenty-five thousand dollars of the next hundred thousand which we needed, and that he would not wait until the other subscriptions were secured, as he recognized the need of ready money at once. He said in tones which I shall never forget: "Brother Cannon, I thank you that you had confidence enough in me to ride all the way down here to ask for my help. It is a compliment and a privilege." He was one of the most liberal men I have ever known. His gift saved the *Richmond Virginian* and enabled it to continue for eight years longer, for with such a springboard I called together a meeting of my friends and was able to secure very shortly the balance of the hundred thousand dollars needed at that time. William C. Ivey of Lynchburg, S. P. Jones of Richmond, James H. Gray of Petersburg, J. W. Hough of Norfolk, W. H. Vincent of Capron were the largest subscribers, with other smaller amounts from R. S. Barbour of South Boston, P. D. Camp of Franklin, George P. Adams of Blackstone, Dr. E. H. Rawlings of Nashville, and a number of preachers of various denominations.

In asking for this additional hundred thousand dollars, I did not hold out to any man the hope of financial profit. I emphasized the prohibition cause, the necessity for the maintenance of the *Virginian* for the success of that cause, and the probability, unless conditions changed, [that] the money invested would be invested for the sake of the cause with little or no hope of any return of principal or interest.

I think I should emphasize at this point the intense devotion of the Reverend J. Sidney Peters to the prohibition cause. His mother was for many years the president of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Virginia, and laid the foundation for the splendid state organization which has existed in this state until this present time. While not a man of large means, he made great sacrifices to assist in the founding of the *Richmond Virginian* and in its maintenance. His subscriptions all-told amounted to approximately \$25,000. He gave time and counsel during the entire life of the *Virginian* which were of incalculable value. . . .

When the General Assembly of Virginia met for the session of 1914, there was a greater majority for the passage of the enabling act than in 1912. I had been assured of the active support of Senator Martin for the passage of the bill. Governor Stuart had pledged himself to sign the bill, should it be passed by the legislature. While I missed Speaker Byrd very greatly, yet the new Speaker of the House, while not himself a prohibitionist, was fair in his appointment of committees and in the

handling of prohibition legislation. The House passed the bill on [January 22] 1914, by a vote of [75 to 19].

The Senate, however, was so evenly divided, owing to the large representation of the cities, that it was not easy to hurry the passage of the bill. There was little which could be said in addition to what had already been said in 1912. The situation resolved itself into a question of tactics and pressure applied to wavering senators.

During that campaign the Anti-Saloon League had its executive office in Murphy's Hotel. When I asked to rent an office and bedroom, Colonel Murphy very courteously let me have his own private office, suitably furnished for our need, and from that office I conducted the campaign for the passage of the enabling act.

The hotelkeepers of the state appointed a committee, headed by Colonel Murphy, to consult with me to secure some provision in the act which would give them privileges to sell to bona fide guests. The paper was sent to me numerously signed, but no committee waited upon me. Instead they went to see my friend, Colonel John P. Branch, and asked him to intercede for them. He telephoned me one night and prefaced his remarks by the statement that he had told the hotel men that he was very certain that I would not agree to their request but that he would ask me to consider it. He said that they emphasized that in cities like Richmond and Norfolk, which had a large tourist patronage, it would be difficult to satisfy such guests without their usual alcoholic beverages; that they desired to keep whatever law was passed, but that if it was strict prohibition, it would be difficult to prevent law violations both by their guests and employees.

I told Brother Branch that the question he presented had been thoroughly discussed and it had been found impossible to draft any provision which would exempt hotels without opening the door for wholesale law evasion. However, I also told him that I did not think the hotel men were entirely frank, that they had not stated what I thought was the main reason, namely, that such provision would give the hotels a monopoly on the sale of intoxicants from which they could make a large profit.

Colonel Branch replied that he was sure that I would refuse the request, but some of the men were friends of his and he agreed to present it without any pressure. I wrote a note acknowledging receipt of the petition, stating my inability to recommend the exceptions desired and filed the petition.

The story of the incident became known to the wet workers around

the Capitol. Mr. Thomas Whitehead, the attorney of the league, heard two of them discussing it, and brought me their version:

This man Cannon went to John Murphy to rent an office and Murphy rented him his own private office, his own desk and chair, to run the campaign against his own crowd, and then John Murphy and all the rest of the hotelkeepers drew up a petition, asking that the hotels be granted the right to sell liquor to their guests. They sent it to this man Cannon. He called in his crowd, read it to them and then threw it in the waste-basket and spit tobacco juice on it, and said, "To —— with John Murphy and his crowd!"

This version of the incident was told by my friend with great gusto, more so as I never use profanity or tobacco.

On the night before the vote I had positive assurances that it would be twenty to twenty, counting pairs, and that the lieutenant-governor would cast the deciding vote in the affirmative. On the morning of the vote, Brother Peters came to me considerably distressed and said it was stated that one of the senators we had depended upon had been in company with opponents of the bill the night before and was then too sick to get to the Senate Chamber and could not secure a pair. I did some prompt, positive, local and long-distance telephoning. How the result was accomplished I do not know, but I do know that greatly to the disappointment of the wets the twenty votes for the passage of the bill were forthcoming, the lieutenant-governor voted aye, and the bill was passed.

After the passage of the enabling act it was necessary for me to hurry to Waynesville and get in order the program for the Southern Assembly for the summer of 1914. The General Conference met in May in Oklahoma City, and I was obliged to be at the Conference for about three weeks. While I was absent at the General Conference, I was notified that I had been elected by the Blackstone Board of Trustees to be president of the college.

Upon my return to Virginia I attended the Blackstone Commencement, got out the new catalogue, arranged finally for the faculty for the coming year and left to Brother George P. Adams, the secretary and treasurer of the college, the responsibility for canvassing for students. I moved my family to Ginter Park, Richmond, and then gave myself to the state-wide campaign, until the vote was taken in September, 1914, except for necessary visits to Waynesville and Blackstone.

The Executive Committee of the League placed me in charge of the campaign with full power to select my assistants, to develop an efficient organization, to secure funds, and to carry on the platform and

literature campaign. I was fortunate in already having efficient and trustworthy field men in the persons of the Reverend J. D. McAlister, the Reverend Ed. J. Richardson, and the Reverend David Hepburn. And I was especially fortunate in arranging with the Blackstone official church board to release their pastor, the Reverend J. Sidney Peters, to assist me in the organization work of the state.

While credit is due to all those who labored, yet the thorough, systematic organization of the state with congressional, county, and precinct chairmen carried on by Brother Peters was probably the most effective work that was done. Daily reports from the different congressional districts of the state came to my desk every morning. All statements pertaining to the campaign were clipped from papers all over the state and also put on my desk.

Special care was exercised in the selection of platform speakers for various committees. I used comparatively few speakers from outside the state, although pressure was very strong to get me to use Secretary [William Jennings] Bryan, Captain [R. P.] Hobson, and Sam Small,¹⁷ but they all made charges for their services which I did not think the League was justified in paying, and so I used them only once or twice. I did use with great effectiveness ex-Governor Robert B. Glenn of North Carolina, who was an able, enthusiastic, convinced prohibitionist, spoke very impressively, and at small cost.¹⁸

The pulpit of the state rendered splendid service. The Baptist, Disciple, Methodist, and Presbyterian ministers spoke clearly and emphatically in sermons and addresses and furnished a fine corps of speakers for public meetings at little expense. Many Episcopal ministers also came out strongly for the state-wide law.

I was exceedingly fortunate to find an old residence on the corner of Seventh and Grace streets, Richmond, which was ideally located and admirably adapted to our work. The streetcar lines to all parts of the city passed within a block. The office of the Richmond *Virginian* was

17. This undoubtedly refers to Richmond Pearson Hobson (1870-1937), graduate of the U. S. Naval Academy, 1889, who won fame for his sinking of the collier *Merrimac* in Santiago harbor during the Spanish-American war. He resigned from the Navy in 1903 and was elected to Congress from Alabama, where he served from 1907 to 1915. He was apparently the first to introduce in Congress and advocate an amendment for total prohibition.

Samuel White Small (1851-1931) was a Tennessee and Georgia journalist. He served as secretary to President Andrew Johnson after the latter's presidential years, and then became an editorial writer for the Atlanta *Constitution*.

18. Robert Brodnax Glenn (1834-1920), governor of North Carolina (1905-1909), was an ardent prohibitionist and probably responsible for the passage of a prohibition law in his state.

only one block distant. The building was large enough to house all of our activities, including a job printing office in the basement, so that there was no waste of time in going from one building to another. The literature campaign of the League was exceedingly effective.

The brewers and distillers from outside the state contributed large sums of money to aid in the state liquor forces. Large space was taken by them in the daily papers for the publication of abusive and vicious attacks. The editorial and news columns of the wet press attacked the methods, motives, and aims of the Anti-Saloon League and of its workers, especially mine. Every possible effort was made to run a red herring across the track and to divert the minds of the people from the main issue.

An effort was made to deceive the farmers by lugging in a discussion of the tobacco question instead of the main issue—"Shall the State of Virginia Dissolve Her Partnership with the Saloon?" The so-called Local Self-Government League attempted to make local self-government the issue.

During the height of the campaign an attack was made upon me in the *American*, a newspaper published at Marion, Virginia, by Mr. W. C. Pendleton, the purpose of which was to stir up opposition to the state-wide movement because of the personality of myself, its chosen leader. In replying to this criticism I stated: ". . . even though the Reverend James Cannon, Jr., should be proved to be arrogant, why reflect upon the moral forces of Virginia?"

A second attack appeared in the *American*, not discussing the question "Shall the State of Virginia Dissolve Her Partnership with the Saloon?" but discussing my personality, and calling for my views on speculation in stocks, or information as to whether I had speculated in stock, and inquiring from what sources I got money. To this letter I replied:

I suppose I should feel complimented that you consider my personality of sufficient importance to think that a discussion of it will minimize even in the smallest degree the interest of the public in the state-wide question. But I have not been fighting the liquor traffic for twenty years without learning some things. Your open letter to me was not written because you are so anxious to know my views on speculation in stocks, or to know whether I have speculated in stocks, or to know from what sources I get money. You are using the tactics of lawyers who have no case before a jury and therefore try to excite sympathy by "abusing the plaintiff's attorney." You wish now to get the people to think that the issue is the personality of the Reverend James Cannon. I have been in many discussions concerning principles, and men have made the effort to becloud

the real issue by discussing my conduct and personality instead of the principle involved. My personal affairs have all been discussed by persons who have opposed me on questions of principle.

I was not at all disturbed by this discussion and refused to be drawn into any questions concerning my personal affairs, and while the enemy tried to make capital and to besmirch me in order to damage the statewide prohibition cause, the incident was not seriously regarded by the public.

On February 5, 1937, I received a letter from Mr. W. C. Pendleton, then a man ninety years old, from which I quote:

Bishop Cannon, Jr.
Washington, D. C.

DEAR BISHOP:

Perhaps you will be surprised to get a letter from me. In 1914, when you were working for the adoption of the enabling act, I was publishing the *American*, a weekly newspaper, at Marion, Va. Unwisely I was induced by a bunch of your bitter foes in Richmond to severely criticize your record in your business transactions, and you and I had a heated correspondence over the matter.

In 1928 when you were vigorously assailing the moral character of Al Smith, the Democratic candidate for President, I received a long distance phone message from a newspaper correspondent at Washington, one of Hearst's men, requesting me to let him have the file of the *American* that contained that correspondence between you and me about the enabling act. I had become convinced I had done you a wrong and that you were sincere in your convictions of the pernicious designs of the liquor interests to get control of the affairs of our country. And I peremptorily refused to let the newspaper man have the files of the *American*. The refusal made him very angry and he was rude to me. Unwisely I told him where the files were stored in my residence at Marion. My house was then occupied by tenants, and certain prominent politicians, who supported Smith and wanted liquor, corruptly secured the files and delivered them, I believe, to the newspaper correspondent at Washington.

I am now ninety years old, am a Confederate veteran, and have been a member of the Methodist Church for eighty years. When a boy and a young man I was a member of old Centenary Church in Richmond, Va., when Bishop Doggett and Bishop Granberry served that church as pastors. I want to take legal steps against the purloiners of the files of the *American*. If you are willing to become my adviser, I would like to have your valuable advice as to the best manner to proceed against the thieves. If you will consent to do this I will go to Washington immediately and have a conference with you.

I will go to Marion on next Monday, the 8th inst. If you grant my request for an interview address me at Marion, Va.

Truly yours,

WM. C. PENDLETON

I had entirely forgotten the incident until the receipt of the above letter. I greatly appreciated the fact that at this time, after all the efforts of the enemy to destroy my reputation and standing, Mr. Pendleton should write me frankly that he had done me an injustice.

At midnight, September 22, 1914, I gave out the following statement:

Election returns at midnight confirm the forecast made on Saturday, September 19, that nine Congressional Districts would vote dry, only the Third District voting wet. It appears now that all the cities of Virginia have voted for state-wide prohibition, except Alexandria, Norfolk, and Richmond, and more than 80 of the counties have voted dry. It is a matter of great congratulation that the majority in Norfolk is reduced to about 500, and in the city of Richmond to about 2,000. The majority in the state seems to be something over 30,000. Last March the Superintendent of the Anti-Saloon League made a careful estimate and placed the majority at 27,000. But as the campaign advanced it became evident that instead of a majority of 10,000 against state-wide prohibition in the cities there would be an actual majority of 10,000 for state-wide prohibition in the cities of Virginia.

As the returns were coming in showing dry majorities in every section of the state, the people began to assemble at Seventh and Grace streets until at last the crowd extended more than a block in every direction. Every telegram was greeted with cheers; and finally when there was no doubt of the results the great crowd broke into "Praise God from Whom All Blessings Flow" and continued to sing other hymns of victory. There never had been before any such gathering in the streets of Richmond praising God for the great victory over one of the "works of the devil."

Thus ended a bitter struggle of five years' duration seeking to record the vote of the people of Virginia upon the question: "Shall the State of Virginia Dissolve Her Partnership with the Saloon?"

There were published many tributes of appreciation for the work done, but I valued none more highly than the one in the *Winchester Star*, which I think was written either by Richard Evelyn Byrd or by his son, the editor of the paper, Harry Flood Byrd. The *Star* said:

Any moralizing over the results of the election must perforce include the unique and dominating personality of James Cannon, Jr. He is the chief architect of the splendid organization which has just achieved so signal and conclusive a victory. Like all men in public life he has aroused

bitter enemies. Some of his opponents have been unsparing in their criticism and wholly without regard for truth in their charges against his motives and character. He has thriven under these because they were untrue. The fact is that he is a man of immense ability and energy, who has dedicated himself to the accomplishment of a great reform. For this work he has not taken money, but has given money. His first lieutenants are J. D. McAlister and Sidney Peters, who have played a powerful and effective part and must not be overlooked when the honors of the victory are awarded. Rev. Ed. J. Richardson, whom we claim, as a former resident of Frederick County, both as a lecturer and as an organizer, distinguished himself.

And then the *Star* continues with an exceedingly significant and far-seeing statement:

The Anti-Saloon organization must be kept up. First, because it is in the power of the General Assembly to change by statute the result of the election under the enabling act, and second because the enforcement of the prohibition law is even more important than the enactment of it.

This statement by the *Star* emphasizes the program of the Anti-Saloon League: agitation, legislation, law enforcement. The League has always held that every part of its program was equally important, and that legislation was worthless unless efficient law enforcement followed. . . .

Following the state-wide election I gave to the press a personal statement:

During the state-wide prohibition campaign, statements were made that the reason for the writer's advocacy of the prohibition cause was his desire to be the governor of Virginia, and that he was building up a strong political organization to be used for that purpose.

Since the election letters have been received from friends suggesting that the writer allow his name to be used as a candidate for governor in order that the administration of the prohibition law might be in friendly hands.

The statements made during the progress of the campaign were not answered, because the answers would have been attacked by the wet newspapers as insincere and as an effort simply to deceive the voters just as the same newspapers attacked the sincerity of the statements made by the Executive Committee of the Anti-Saloon League concerning the future crusade on tobacco.

But now that the election is over, and there can be no possible charge made that the action is for the purpose of influencing the voters, I think it only proper that I should make the following statement:

The office of governor of Virginia is a high and honorable position, and furnishes many opportunities for service to the people of Virginia. There is no reason, constitutional or otherwise, why any man whom the people

of Virginia may desire to serve them in that capacity should not do so, even though he be a minister of the gospel, and I should make no adverse criticism upon any minister who should respond to a call from the people to serve them in that, or any other office of the state. Personally, however, I have never had any desire to be governor of Virginia, I have no desire today, and I do not expect to have any such desire in the future. While I fully appreciate the good opinion of all my friends, and the kind things which they have said in connection with this matter, yet I am convinced that my work does not lie in that direction, and that my best service to the people of Virginia could not be rendered in the office of governor.

I do think that the people of Virginia should elect as the next governor a man who believes in the wisdom and righteousness of state-wide prohibition, and who will, therefore, from personal conviction do everything possible to make the prohibition law a success. I shall certainly do all in my power to assist in nominating such a man in 1917.

The state-wide fight had been won, but there was an aftermath. It had been necessary to spend approximately \$85,000 in the literature and speaking campaign. In order to secure the money and to have no delay whatever in the fight I had borrowed about \$30,000 from the country banks in small amounts of from \$1,000 to \$2,500. When our accounts were all paid, we owed the banks \$24,000, for which I was personally responsible. I had put so much of my available resources behind the *Richmond Virginian* that this large amount troubled me. I had quite a physical breakdown for a few days after the election. I sent for Brother Peters and talked the matter over with him and asked him to call together a group of our friends, with whom I met and to whom I stated the facts.

Mr. W. H. Vincent, of Capron, called for a batch of notes, the amounts due to each bank were called out, a new note made for the amount due. Mr. Vincent put his name on the back of each of the notes and passed them around the table and every man signed the notes. They were the most remarkable negotiable notes I have ever seen. All of them had sixteen signatures on the back, made by men whose combined resources were considerably over a million dollars. Thus was the debt handled, to my great relief. It was paid off in full in the next three or four years. But the way in which my friends responded to my call was as manna to my soul.

The men who had founded and supported the *Richmond Virginian* were greatly delighted with the effective work which was done by the *Virginian*; indeed it was the right arm of power of the Anti-Saloon League during the entire campaign.

Following the success of the election, the main work of the Anti-Saloon League of Virginia was to elect a House of Delegates and a Senate entirely friendly to the carrying out of the will of the people of Virginia as expressed at the polls. That result was accomplished. The Democratic administration faction, under the leadership of Senator Martin, co-operated fully in securing a good majority in the Senate, as well as a sweeping majority in the House.

As the executive officer of the League, I stated to the Democratic leaders that my activities in connection with the General Assembly were restricted to matters relating to social and moral welfare. But I did insist that all committees which passed upon legislation affecting in any way moral issues before the people should be composed of men friendly to such legislation. There was a great deal of sharp and unjust criticism because of my objection to the placing of men hostile to our moral aims on the committees.

These attacks were met in the *Virginian* and the *Advocate*. But the composition of some of the committees was declared to be evidence of my dictatorship over the General Assembly of Virginia, which slander has been perpetuated by the newspapers through all the years. I declared then openly that my insistence upon favorably constituted committees was not a personal matter, but that I had been charged with the responsibility by the the people of the state to see to it that their wishes were carried out by the General Assembly.

During that session of the legislature a judge of the State Supreme Court of Appeals was elected. The candidates for the position were Professor William Minor Lyle and Judge Frederick W. Sims.¹⁹ I had no personal acquaintance with either one of the candidates, and no reason personally to favor one above the other. But Professor [Lyle] had emphasized his belief that state-wide prohibition was not as good a method of handling the liquor traffic as local option. I knew from what had happened in other states that any legislation which might be passed would be passed upon finally by the Court of Appeals.

I took no active part in the election, but when my friends came to see me and asked for advice, as many of them did, I told them that I thought it would be wiser from our viewpoint not to put a man on the bench with such pronounced views concerning the legislation for

19. William Miner Lyle (1859-1935), professor of law at the University of Virginia, was founder and editor of the *Virginia Law Register* and dean of the law school from 1896 to his death.

Frederick Wilmer Sims (1862-1925) was judge of Louisa County Court (1890-1905), member of the Virginia Senate (1906-1912), and judge of the Supreme Court of Appeals of Virginia (1916-1919).

which the people of the state had voted. There was no "unholy alliance" in the matter at all. A number of my friends did not vote for Professor Lyle, but did vote for Judge Sims, and they, added to friends of Senator Martin, formed a majority so that Judge Sims was elected. There was nothing "unholy" in my position. It was an expression of my judgment as to what I thought was the best course to be followed.

The shaping of what came to be known as the Mapp Law involved a great deal of hard labor.²⁰ There were four patrons of the bill—Senators Mapp, Saunders, Walker, and West. The brunt of the work was borne by Senators [Walter G.] Mapp and [C. Harding] Walker, who labored steadily and intelligently for several weeks. At their request, I was with them in the work most of the time. On mooted questions I frequently consulted ex-Governor Mann and ex-Speaker Byrd, whose judgment I had learned to value and respect.

As the work progressed and the bill got before committees, it became evident that it would be difficult to secure the passage of the bill before adjournment unless some agreement was reached as to the purchase of beverage alcohol for personal use from outside the state. Personally, I was positively opposed to the insertion of such a provision in the bill. I realized that the passage of the Webb-Kenyon Law by Congress would protect the state from outside shipments. It was argued, however, by friends of the State Prohibition Law as a whole that there would be much less unrest and dissatisfaction if a limited quantity of ardent spirits was allowed to be imported from out of the state.

A provision was finally inserted in the bill that one quart of intoxicating liquor could be imported monthly from outside the state by meeting the requirements laid down in the bill. I opposed this provision openly, but it was adopted by the General Assembly, and I thought it would be a great mistake to refuse to accept the bill because I could not get everything that I wanted. The principle which I have always followed in prohibition legislation is to secure whatever restriction is possible upon the sale of intoxicants. I have never refused to accept part because I could not get all.

This provision of the bill was very bitterly and unjustly criticized by Congressman Glass, who declared that it caused the sobriquet of "One

20. "The Mapp Law" was approved on March 10, 1916. It was an act to define ardent spirits and to prohibit the manufacture, use, sale, offering for sale, transportation for sale, keeping for sale, etc., of ardent spirits. A Commissioner of Prohibition was called for, and provisions were made for enforcement of the act (*Pollard Supplement to the Code of Virginia*—Sessions 1912, 1914, 1915, and 1916, p. 1098).

Quart Cannon" to be given to me and that this was common throughout the state. If it was, I heard it very rarely and do not recall seeing it in the press, except when he wrote it. Mr. Glass had no right to criticize any features of the bill. He never gave any assistance whatever in the severe fights for the passage of the enabling act in 1912 and 1914, and although he was in Richmond during the meetings of the General Assembly both years he never manifested any helpful interest in the passage of the bill, and our records do not show that he ever made any substantial contribution to the Anti-Saloon League state or national work, although he was amply able to do so. What he may have contributed in local campaigns I do not know, but for a man who boasted of his prohibition record he gave no practical help in the passage of Virginia prohibition legislation. . . .

Finally the bill was passed both in the House and in the Senate. It was, I am satisfied, the best piece of prohibitory legislation which had been adopted up to that time, and I doubt if any better has been adopted since.

Probably it should have been stated before that from the very beginning of the work for liquor legislation in the General Assembly of Virginia, starting with the Mann Law, then the Byrd Law, then local-option elections throughout the state, then the five-year battle for the enabling act, with the climax in the passage of the Mapp Law, the Woman's Christian Temperance Union of Virginia was a co-partner with the Anti-Saloon League in the great work of securing state-wide prohibition for Virginia. This assistance was invaluable in creating public sentiment, by the holding of meetings, distribution of literature and by the work of their able president, Mrs. Howard M. Hoge, in personal interviews with legislators and in addresses before committees of the General Assembly. My mother's white ribbon badge symbolized my original inspiration to fight the liquor traffic. I rejoice in the exceedingly cordial relation which I have always had with the W.C.T.U. workers, and I appreciate the loyalty which they have shown to me through many troublous years.

The Mapp Bill provided for the selection of a State Prohibition Commissioner to be put in charge of the enforcement of the law. I favored that provision and favored an adequate appropriation to enable the commissioner to do his work successfully. But when the time came to elect the commissioner I found myself in quite a difficult situation. Most of my friends thought that the Reverend J. Sidney Peters should be elected Prohibition Commissioner, and it was announced that he

was to be nominated and elected. The wet newspapers were loud in their opposition.

I myself was greatly surprised. I knew that Mr. Peters would make a very efficient Prohibition Commissioner, that his heart would be in his work, that he was absolutely incorruptible, and that he had the ability and courage for the position. But I frankly told him and his leading supporters that I did not think it was wise to elect a man to that position who had been so active in the state-wide prohibition fight and so prominent in the Anti-Saloon League work.

The wet newspapers could not understand my attitude; indeed could hardly believe it to be true. And some went so far as to accuse me of hypocrisy because when Mr. Peters was elected, they declared that I knew he would be elected and I had simply been speaking for effect. The friends of Attorney-General John Garland Pollard urged that the work be placed in his hands, hoping thereby to increase his chances for the nomination for the governorship, for which he was openly in the field.

At that session of the legislature I secured the appointment of the Committee on Moral and Social Welfare, which continued to function for many years. I also secured the authorization of the Censorship Board of Motion Pictures, which has continued, although, as I have been out of Virginia so much since 1918, I do not know how successful have been the efforts of the Censorship Board to give clean pictures to the people of the state.

The legislation adopted in 1916 wound up my active work with the General Assembly of Virginia, for, when the legislature met in 1918, I was in Europe in the war work, and the following May I was elected one of the bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. I did take part, however, in the 1917 primary contest for the governorship, and regret to state that in that contest I made a mistake in judgment which possibly resulted in the election of a candidate unfavorable to the prohibition laws.

The three candidates were the Honorable J. Taylor Ellyson, then lieutenant-governor; the Honorable John Garland Pollard, then attorney-general, and Mr. Westmoreland Davis, who had never been a candidate for public office, who had no record behind him, who had been the owner and editor of the *Southern Planter*, and had become popular with an element of the farmers of Virginia.

[Conforming to the usual practice of the Anti-Saloon League, the Virginia executive committee addressed a letter to each of the three candidates requesting their attitudes toward prohibition legislation in

the state. Ellyson replied that he had favored all the prohibition legislation passed in recent years, that as governor he would see that the laws were enforced, and that he would "co-operate in submitting the question of constitutional prohibition to the people whenever they think it wise to take this step." Pollard, too, was vigorous in asserting his support for prohibition, stating that present laws should be perfected and "rigidly enforced," and that he favored amending the constitution to include a prohibition plank. Davis, on the other hand, although claiming to be personally a dry and insisting that he would enforce the law, refused to commit himself to future action, especially to a constitutional amendment which had not yet been formulated. These replies were all published in the *Richmond Virginian*, July 14, 1917.

[The political dilemma faced by the prohibition leaders was obvious; and Cannon's "mistake in judgment" was undoubtedly in his failure to resolve this dilemma. Both Pollard and Ellyson had submitted answers which must have been satisfactory to the Anti-Saloon League. How would it be possible to unite enough support behind one of them to defeat Davis? Apparently Cannon had already decided to support J. Taylor Ellyson. By July 7 he was thus informing those who asked him for advice. Undoubtedly Pollard's adherents were tendering similar advice. In any case, a split occurred which received publicity when a letter to the editor from Dr. G. H. Lambeth was published in the *Virginian* on July 27. Lambeth asserted that it was obvious that the Anti-Saloon League was preparing to support Mr. Ellyson. In this, he added, the executive officers of the League "are entirely consistent with a long fixed habit of partiality towards the 'organization,' but wholly inconsistent with the emphatic assertion that the League is not in politics." Queried Lambeth, Why support Ellyson, a man whose views on the enabling act had been a long time in doubt, whereas Pollard had been always a faithful dry?

[Cannon was given an opportunity to prepare a reply to Lambeth's letter and both appeared in the same issue of the *Virginian*. It ran to approximately seventeen single-spaced typed pages. Cannon insisted that until July 7 he had replied to all inquiries that the Anti-Saloon League would take no part in the election. After that date, however, he replied "not as Superintendent of the Anti-Saloon League, but as an individual citizen of Virginia . . . that I expected to vote for the Honorable J. Taylor Ellyson, that Dr. R. H. Pitt, the editor of the *Religious Herald* . . . and the Reverend J. Sidney Peters, the Commissioner of Prohibition, expected also to vote for Mr. Ellyson, but that no one

of us as leaders of the Anti-Saloon League had used his official position . . . to advance Mr. Ellyson's candidacy, and that so far as the Anti-Saloon League was concerned the record and position of both men were satisfactory."

[But then Cannon listed his reasons for preferring Ellyson to Pollard. Pollard, according to Cannon, had not been particularly co-operative during the League's long fight for prohibition. On one occasion, Cannon claimed, he had even made available certain private letters from Cannon to "wet newspapers." Ellyson, on the other hand, was a Confederate veteran, had a "record for efficient service and responsible trust" in the Baptist Church, was an active Democratic politician well acquainted with the state and with legislative practice, and had been active in the prohibition fight since 1885. On this last point, Cannon took specific issue with Lambeth.

[The campaign thus developed into a bitter one, with the "dries" almost equally divided between Pollard and Ellyson. Davis took full advantage of this, and on primary day was easily nominated.]

VI. The Fight for National Prohibition 1913-1918

IN THE MEANWHILE I had been giving more and more of my time to national prohibition. I served on the joint committee for the shaping and the passage of the Webb-Kenyon Law, which was adopted in February, 1913. In the passage of this law I had the active and efficient assistance of Senator Martin in the Senate, and the Honorable Charles C. Carlin, the representative from the Eighth District of Virginia, in the House. I wrote to both of them in January, 1913, expressing my anxiety lest the bill should be postponed until too near the close of the session, and urged them to press the matter as strongly as possible. Senator Martin replied, assuring me that he would give the bill his special attention, and shortly afterward wrote me that in consultation with the Republican Senator Gallinger, the date for the vote on the bill had been set for February 10 and that as soon as the bill was passed it could be substituted for the House bill on the calendar. His prediction was verified and the bill passed the Senate on February 10 and was rushed over to the House.

Congressman Carlin was a member of the House Judiciary Committee and assured me that the bill would be voted upon by that committee on February 5, in ample time for it to be acted upon in the House. Mr. Carlin wrote on February 15, after the passage of the bill, in reply to a letter of appreciation:

I am glad to know you appreciate the service I have rendered in the advancement of legislation desired by the temperance people of my state. It is rumored here at the Capitol today that the President will veto the bill, and it comes from a source which leads me to believe that perhaps the information is accurate. It would be well to look after this. The next time you are in Washington, drop in to see me. I am always glad to see you.

Following up Mr. Carlin's suggestion, I went promptly to Washington, and with some one of the Anti-Saloon League leaders (I do not now remember who it was) I went to see President Taft. It was the first time I had ever met him personally. While he thought the legisla-

tion was unconstitutional, and did veto it, yet he received me very courteously, not to say kindly. He produced the impression upon me that he did not recognize how very important the legislation was; in fact, he practically said that he thought that it was better not to have so much legislation, and very pleasantly bade me goodbye, stating that he was glad to have a Virginia Democrat come to see him. He vetoed the bill, as Mr. Carlin predicted, and Congress passed it over his veto.

It was the first great victory of the Anti-Saloon League in Congress. Minor victories had been won before, but the overriding of the Presidential veto marked the milestone. As President Taft was riding in the carriage with President-elect Wilson to the Capitol, when the carriage passed underneath the windows of the Anti-Saloon League, he cast his eyes up at the windows, which were full of Anti-Saloon League leaders, and smiled very broadly, and while we could not hear we were sure that he indulged in his famous chuckle. He was a broadminded, big-hearted man, and bore no malice for the overriding of his veto. Although he did not favor the adoption of the Eighteenth Amendment, yet later on he became convinced by observation that the placing of the brand of the criminal upon the liquor traffic was a very beneficial measure, and wrote positively to that effect some years before his death.

During the fight for the passage of the Webb-Kenyon Law I was associated more closely with the national workers of the League than I had been before. The national workers who were especially active for the Webb-Kenyon Law were Dr. E. C. Dinwiddie, the Legislative Superintendent of the Anti-Saloon League of America, and Dr. Ernest H. Cherrington, General Secretary of Publishing Interests. This was probably the best piece of work ever done by Dr. Dinwiddie. The Republican party was in power, but it was not a partisan, political fight. The leader in the House was Democratic Congressman, E. Y. Webb of North Carolina, now Judge Webb, and the leader in the Senate was Senator Kenyon, a Republican from Iowa, later Judge Kenyon.¹

Dr. Dinwiddie was a man of industry and ability. I was associated with him in the work at Washington for about ten years. He was an Ohio product, a strong Republican, as was every one of the Ohio prohibition leaders—Baker, Russell, Cherrington, Wheeler, and Dinwiddie. While he endeavored to keep on agreeable terms with the Southern

1. Edwin Yates Webb (1872-1955) was a congressman from North Carolina (1903-1911) and has served as the U. S. Judge in the 9th North Carolina District since 1919.

William Squire Kenyon (1869-1933), backed by Progressive Republicans, was selected in 1911 to fill the unexpired term of Senator J. P. Dolliver of Iowa. He was elected in his own right in 1913, but resigned in 1922 when appointed by Harding to a Federal Circuit Court.

Democrats, who furnished the bulk of the votes for all advanced liquor legislation during the Wilson administration and through the prohibition era, yet he was genuinely a Republican, and in our committee counsels he nearly always emphasized the work done by the Republican men like Senator Gallinger. I became satisfied from my work on the Webb-Kenyon Bill that further advanced legislation would demand some genuine Southern Democratic activity to secure the support of men like Senator Martin and Congressman Carlin. Concerning this I will speak later on.

My association with Dr. E. H. Cherrington had been helpful from the beginning of my relation to the National League. For nearly thirty-five years we have been brought together in prohibition activities of various kinds. While we have not always agreed as to details, yet in all the years there has never been any serious difference of opinion or clash of judgment. I consider that Dr. Cherrington deserves greater credit than any other one man for the adoption of the Eighteenth Amendment. He has always emphasized the fundamental value of educational work. With extraordinary business ability, excellent judgment of men and methods, with little of what I should call dominating prejudices concerning individuals, with a Northern Republican education, but with broadmindedness enough to recognize the real facts concerning Southern Democrats, moreover with uncommon physical and mental endowments, he outlined and carried forward a program which brought victory to the prohibition cause.

He established and maintained the American Issue Publishing Company at Westerville, Ohio, from which hundreds of millions of pages of educative facts concerning the results of the traffic in beverage alcohol went all over the country. He organized and directed a National Speakers' Bureau, putting upon the platform through many years an array of the strongest speakers in the nation on the prohibition question. He was the great general of the Anti-Saloon League's platform and press, and his headquarters at Westerville was an arsenal of facts from which workers and speakers all through the nation obtained effective weapons of warfare. His methods have never been spectacular, and he has personally never sought the limelight, and the nation at large has never recognized the primacy of his leadership, as compared with some other workers who have been more prominent before the public.

There was one question on which we did not always agree. He had a loyalty toward Dr. P. A. Baker, the second National Superintendent of the League, which was both personal and official. The Ohio group of workers had been largely developed while Dr. Baker was superinten-

dent in the state of Ohio. Dr. Baker was a man of positive convictions, not unmixed with personal and political prejudices. As a leader in the fight in Ohio he asked and gave no quarter. He had, until the latter years of his life, an iron will which demanded, and usually secured, agreement with his views. He was an efficient leader in the organization of state leagues, and showed more than average judgment in the selection of men to be state superintendents. He was an intense Republican, and until his residence in Alabama for health considerations, he had very poor understanding of the Southern situation. He came to Virginia only a few times during his superintendency.

My association with Dr. Baker at conventions and on committee work was in latter years rather intimate, and I think we learned to understand each other better. He was not naturally a good worker on committees. He was too inclined to come to meetings with his views already fixed, desiring speedy action. I was obliged to oppose his views on several occasions. The National Legislative Committee, of which Dr. Baker was an ex officio member, was organized in 1913. As chairman of the committee I always notified him of our meetings. He did not attend very often. But whenever he was present and any issue arose, so intense was the loyalty of the Ohio men toward him that while they might argue against him, somewhat apologetically, yet it was difficult for them actually to vote contrary to his wishes. His residence in Alabama finally changed his general attitude toward the South, and he came to recognize very fully that the South was the real stronghold of prohibition sentiment in the nation. He thought of Cherrington, Dinwiddie, and Wheeler as boys whom he had trained for the League work, and it was difficult for him to think that they would follow any policy, or take any action, contrary to his judgment. He recognized with difficulty the fact that the views of other men, representing other sections of the country, must be given consideration, and sometimes have determining weight. He was an able man, but not the ablest of the Anti-Saloon League leaders.

In March, 1913, Woodrow Wilson was inaugurated as President of the United States, and an era of eight years of Democratic control of the government began. Many of the Southern men in Congress, speaking through Senator Martin (the Democratic floor leader and one of the outstanding Democratic leaders), stated very frankly that Dr. Dinwiddie was recognized as a born Ohio Republican, and that there were many Democrats who would prefer to confer with some Democratic League worker. Consequently, the Executive Committee of the League elected a Legislative Committee, which was composed at first of Dr. Arthur J. Bar-

ton of Texas;² Dr. W. B. Wheeler of Ohio, and myself as chairman. This committee, as its name indicated, was put in charge of the legislative work at Washington with Dr. Dinwiddie as Legislative Superintendent, working under its direction, Dr. Baker being an ex officio member. A year or so later Dr. Ernest H. Cherrington was added to the committee, and when Dr. Wheeler was elected Legislative Superintendent he resigned from the committee, and Mr. W. H. Anderson, superintendent of the New York State League, was elected a member. That committee had charge of all the legislation which was presented to Congress for the next fifteen years.

The Fourteenth International Congress against Alcoholism was held in Milan, Italy, in September, 1913. Senator Martin wrote the Secretary of State, Mr. Bryan, urging my appointment as one of the official delegates. This was done, and so after the summer season had ended at Lake Junaluska, my wife and I sailed for Europe, the first and only time that we ever made a European trip without anyone else with us. We had just celebrated our silver wedding anniversary on August 1, 1913, an occasion of much happiness. . . . We had both labored very hard to make the opening season of the Southern Assembly a success, and that European trip was one of the most delightful experiences of our lives. . . .

Going from Liverpool to London we spent a day and night at Stratford, likewise at Oxford, and came into London at about the best season of the year. Parliament was not in session, but the holidays were over. David Lloyd George had become one of the great men of England by his success as Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Mr. Asquith, as Prime Minister of England, had thrown down the gauntlet to the House of Lords on the Education Bill, and had swept away the right of the House of Lords to place a final veto on any action taken by the House of Commons as the real representative of the people.

I was given a letter of introduction to Lloyd George by Dr. John Clifford, the great Liberal Baptist, and found him very much interested in the question of the control of the liquor traffic. He was even then talking of bringing in a prohibition bill for Wales. He was, as he has always been, one of the most attractive personalities in public life. He was in his prime, physically, mentally, and in a sense, politically. There was no intimation, however, in any talk with him that he believed there

2. Arthur James Barton (1867-1942) was a Baptist minister and superintendent of the Anti-Saloon League of Texas. He served as chairman of the executive committee of the Baptist national conference which framed the Sheppard-Kenyon Bill (1911) on interstate liquor shipments.

was any possibility of a European war which would make him Prime Minister of Great Britain. . . .

We stopped in Paris for only one day, simply to take a drive through the most beautiful parts of the city and to renew our recollections of Versailles and the Trianon Palaces. We stayed in Milan at a very comfortable, moderate-priced hotel with a bill of fare containing some English and American dishes, but with an amazing amount of macaroni and spaghetti. It was the first real International Congress I had ever attended. Dr. Robert Hercod³ was even then the outstanding Continental temperance worker. Miss Agnes Slack⁴ was, I remember, one of the delegates to that congress from England, and while she does not speak the best of French, it was helpful to be alongside of her, as French was used more than any other language except English. I took comparatively little part in the discussions in the congress, but was finally urged to make a statement of the facts of the prohibition situation in the South. . . .

My statement brought forth the most animated discussions of the congress, and it was printed practically as delivered in English and Scottish papers, which I read when I passed through England on my return. I learned that my statement was discussed in the Continental temperance papers as describing an exceptional situation, with no idea that it was an indication of what would happen five years later. . . .

Our return voyage was by the way of the St. Lawrence, sailing from Liverpool on the steamer *Teutonic*, a small but very fast steamer, at a very moderate price. We found on board Miss Agnes Slack and Lady Howard, the daughter of Rosalind, Countess of Carlisle, President of the World's Christian Temperance Union. They were on their way to a meeting of the World's Christian Temperance Union in the United States. The days on shipboard gave opportunity for continued conference and resulted in the formation of very pleasant friendships. . . .

We reached home greatly refreshed and I began preparations at once not only for the work in the Virginia Legislature of 1914, which has already been described, but also as chairman of the new National Legislative Committee, to press for the passage of the resolution for the submission of the Prohibition Amendment.

At the national convention of the Anti-Saloon League held in Columbus the League had come out openly for national prohibition, and one of the greatest demonstrations that ever held the attention of the

3. Robert Hercod was superintendent of the International Temperance Bureau at Lausanne, Switzerland.

4. Agnes Slack was active in the World's W.C.T.U. and in the National British Women's Temperance Association.

national capital occurred when the campaign for the enactment of the constitutional amendment outlawing the liquor traffic was launched. The *Washington Post* stated: "More than 1300 men and women, representing every state and territory in the Union, marched to the Capitol to present to Congress mammoth petitions for the passage of the Amendment."

A little boy led the procession carrying the American flag. Following him were fifty little girls garbed in white, and after them came hundreds of marchers from the various states under the auspices of the Anti-Saloon League of America, the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, and other allied organizations. The procession passed up Pennsylvania Avenue to the east front of the Capitol, and there on the steps of the Capitol building Dr. Ernest H. Cherrington and others presented addresses to Congress.

Governor W. H. Mann, of Virginia, was in the procession as a vice-president of the Anti-Saloon League in Virginia, and as a lifelong advocate of prohibition. The demonstration was a great success and the secular press of the nation awoke for the first time to a realization that national constitutional prohibition was seriously to be reckoned with.

The resolution was introduced in both the House and Senate and was known as the Hobson-Sheppard Amendment.⁵ As chairman of the National Legislative Committee I spoke at the hearings before both the Senate and House Committees. Immediately before my speech to the Senate Committee, Senator William E. Borah, a member of the committee, declared:

I made up my mind a long time ago as to the necessity of exterminating, if possible, the liquor traffic, but I want to be absolutely certain that I do not make a mistake in trying to do it the wrong way. I wish those who are in favor of the Amendment will bear that in mind because it is the one point that interests me most. My experience has been that the national government does not enforce its laws as effectively as does the state.

I replied:

In view of the statement made by Senator Borah, I shall address myself

5. The Hobson-Sheppard resolution for an amendment to the Constitution contained the following provisions:

"Section 1. The sale, manufacture for sale, transportation for sale, importation for sale of intoxicating liquors for beverage purposes in the United States and all territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof and exportation for sale thereof are forever prohibited.

"Section 2. The Congress or the states shall have power independently or concurrently to enforce this article by all needful legislation."

The vote was taken on December 22, 1914, and resulted as follows: 197 yeas, 190 nays, 1 present, and 40 not voting. Two-thirds not being in favor, the resolution was rejected (*Cong. Record*, vol. 52, 63d Cong., 3d Session, pp. 495 ff., 616).

almost entirely to that phase of the question. I know the members of the committee are fully cognizant of the facts in reference to the ravages of the liquor traffic, and it is not necessary for me to give any statistics on this point.

The real question as I see it is this, and only this—has the time come for the Congress of the United States to give to the people of the several states an opportunity to decide for themselves whether they desire this amendment to the Constitution? I know, of course, that there is a certain responsibility attaching upon the Congress of the United States in submitting any Constitutional proposition, a very grave responsibility. And yet whenever it becomes evident that a large percentage of the people desire an opportunity to express themselves upon a great question, the body in whose hands is committed the right to decide whether the people shall have such opportunity could at least divide the responsibility with the people. And so while I am not going to say that it is possible for us to answer the question that Senator Borah has asked as to the effectiveness of this method because it has never been tried, and we do not know just how effective it may be for the United States Government to be behind the law, yet we do feel that the question has assumed such a great importance, and the people of the country are now so much in earnest about it, that Congress ought at least to give the people an opportunity to speak if they desire to do so.

Now as to the matter of effectiveness of the enforcement of the law by the United States Government, as replying directly to Senator Borah I would call the attention of the members of the committee to the fact that it is not our thought at all in the adoption of this amendment that we shall take from the states the right to co-operate with the general government in the enforcement of the law. It will not be a question simply of whether the United States Internal Revenue offices and the United States courts shall themselves be affected, but when the state also has this law on the subject and the state law has been violated by an evildoer. . . . the state will continue to prosecute just as it does today. Certainly it is not our purpose to take from the state its power in co-operation with the general movement to enforce the law. The only question that we raise now is—has the time really come for such an amendment to the Constitution? Is this a local issue? Is this a matter for a town only, for a county only, for a city only, for a state only, or has it become evident that the liquor traffic is of such a character that the only possible way to handle that traffic is by having the national hand of the Government placed upon it. I am a States'-Rights Democrat, as strong a States'-Rights man as you can find, and I believe that state sovereignty should be preserved until it becomes evident that we have a problem to deal with that is not local in its character, that is not state-wide only, but is nationwide. The liquor traffic overrides all state bounds, and ceases to be a geographical question. Whenever the time comes that in order to promote the general welfare it is necessary for the states to delegate a right which the states have always heretofore possessed, when three-fourths of the states agree to such delegation to the general government, the question of state sovereignty

is no longer the question. The question is what is best for the general welfare.

When it comes to the question of liberty, the gentleman who spoke to the committee awhile ago appeared as the representative of personal liberty. Well, personal liberty is relative here. If a man is on a desert island like Robinson Crusoe, with nobody but animals and trees and inanimate things, he might dress and act as he pleased, but the minute a man comes into society, the minute a man claims the privileges of society, it becomes a question of right. Society is distinctly based upon the limitation of rights. So the question of personal liberty is altogether a relative term, and the moment society becomes convinced that the exercise of any form of personal liberty is damaging to society, or is a menace to the community life, then society steps in, and says to every man: "Your rights cease when they begin to infringe on the rights of others." The law tells the driver on a crowded thoroughfare, "Slow up; watch the stop lights; your machine belongs to you just as much as on an unfrequented road, but in the midst of society the rights of other people restrict your rights." Just how far can we go in determining what shall be the personal habits of men? Just to the point of saying that when the exercise of your right to drink liquor infringes upon the safety, happiness, and comfort of society, then you must give up your personal rights. And society is not doing you any wrong in putting its hand upon you and determining what limit should be placed upon your indulgence. The fact that a man cries "Personal liberty!" has no weight today in the complex civilization in which we live. Society says, "We will restrict injurious exercise of personal liberty. We will not allow a public nuisance to exist, whether it pertains to the liquor traffic or any other social evil."

The hearing before the House Judiciary Committee was held after the meeting of the General Conference of 1914.⁶ At that General Conference, in company with some other Virginia delegates, I offered sweeping resolutions which were reported back by the Committee on Temperance and adopted by a unanimous rising vote of the Conference. Some extracts from those resolutions are given to indicate the sentiment of our great Church body:

Resolved, that we condemn the liquor traffic as the greatest menace of our day to the welfare of business, society, and the church; that we regard it as a public nuisance which must be abated if our civilization is to be saved . . . that we declare the time has come when the protection of the law of the land must be taken from this destructive traffic in the bodies and souls of our children, and that the man who insists upon his greed and

6. *U. S. Congress House Judiciary Committee: Intoxicating Liquors, hearing on [H. J. Res. 168, proposing amendment to Constitution of U. S., prohibiting sale, manufacture, transportation, importation and exportation of] intoxicating liquors Dec. 11, 1913-April 15, 1914.*

The Senate Judiciary Committee hearing took place April 16-May 1, 1914.

covetousness by the destruction of his neighbors shall be branded as a criminal to be dealt with, as all other offenders against the peace and order and uplift of society. . . . We urge our people to remember that the liquor traffic, and its allies, hate the Anti-Saloon League because of its effective work, and endeavor to destroy that effectiveness by exciting suspicion against its leaders. We pledge to these leaders our loyalty, and assure them that we will not desert them in the hour of battle because of the slanders of the enemy.

When I appeared as chairman of the Legislative Committee before the House Committee of the Judiciary I read first of all the resolutions adopted by our recent General Conference, and then very briefly outlined my position, largely in line with the statements made before the Senate Committee. . . .

While the discussion was going on in Congress concerning the adoption of the resolution, Dr. Baker, Dr. Cherrington, Dr. Dinwiddie, and I called upon Secretary of State William Jennings Bryan, and asked him to use his influence with his friends in Congress to vote for the resolution. All of the committee were Republicans, except myself; and Mr. Bryan, addressing himself especially to me, emphasized the fact that while he was in favor of local and state prohibition, yet he thought that it was a mistake to bring up the matter of national prohibition at this time. He said that the Democratic administration had a number of very important measures for action by Congress, and that it was a great mistake to introduce as controversial a matter as the prohibition question at this time.

The Republican members of our committee found it quite difficult to argue the question from that standpoint. I did not, however, hesitate, as a Democrat, to say to Mr. Bryan that I should greatly regret for it to be stated that the Democratic administration was opposed to our efforts to pass the Hobson-Sheppard resolution because it feared that it would interfere with the Democratic program, and that if he could not help us I did trust that he would not express any views which would make our work more difficult.

He was not at all convinced and declined to give us any co-operation. Shortly afterward I went to see President Wilson and explained to him our position. I told him I wished to assure him that, as a Democrat, I was in accord with the great measures which he was trying to get through Congress, and desired most earnestly the success of his administration, but I insisted that the prohibition question was not a partisan political question, and that our efforts before Congress would not be allowed to impede in any way any of the administration measures.

He was very pleasant and cordial, and I was more strongly impressed than before by his sincerity and by his earnestness in trying to do what he believed was best for the nation.

During that summer of 1914 World War I began. While I was shocked beyond measure, as I could hardly believe that such a thing as a great war could be possible, yet as I thought over the conditions I had observed in Germany the year before, the attitude and temper of the ruling classes, it did not seem to be contrary to what might have been expected. In my interview with President Wilson, which was in the fall of 1914, I told him of the impressions which I had received in Germany the previous year. He was greatly concerned that the European world should be on fire, but indicated that he thought that the United States could be kept clear of any involvement.

On December 18, 1914, the National Legislative Committee, after a careful study of the situation, sent an autographed letter to every member of Congress outlining the position of the Anti-Saloon League of America and urging that the states be given an opportunity to change the fundamental law of the country by the legally constituted method.

When the day of battle came, the liquor lobby and the wet press openly claimed a majority of the House. They pointed out that President Wilson and Secretary Bryan did not think it to be an opportune time, for while Mr. Bryan did not actively oppose our effort, yet he did state that the administration preferred that the time should not be taken from more important matters. It was boasted that both Underwood [of Alabama] and Mann [of Illinois], the floor leaders of both political parties, were against the resolution, and they claimed that the States'-Rights Dry Democrats would oppose it. But from the time the debate began at 10 A.M. [December 22, 1914] till the final vote was announced at 11:30 P.M., it was evident to the careful observer that the opponents of submission lacked confidence in the righteousness of their cause and showed little enthusiasm, while the advocates of submission were aggressive, enthusiastic, and firmly convinced of final victory.

The galleries were packed to the limit, and the corridors outside were filled with people waiting to take the place of any who might leave. Contrary to expectation, and although it was only two days before Christmas, the attendance of members was unusually large, nearly four hundred being present and voting, including pairs. The great petition of six million signers was pasted together and hung on the wall behind the Speaker's chair, running from one side of the chamber to the other, with many loops and folds. In the space in front of the clerk's desk was an exhibition of charts, showing the effects of alcoholic indulgence.

These charts were exceedingly distasteful, indeed quite irritating, to some of the opponents of prohibition, and after enduring them for a few hours they resurrected an ancient rule forbidding any posters in the hall of the House of Representatives, and thus banished the silent witnesses whose testimony they could not controvert.

When the smoke of battle had cleared away and the final action had been taken, the advocates of submission of the Prohibition Resolution had recorded a clear majority of 8, the vote being 197 to 189 in favor of submission. National prohibition was no longer then a Utopian dream but took its place in the front rank of great moral and social reforms. From this time national prohibition was an issue in every congressional and senatorial campaign until the question was finally submitted three years later. It was a great pleasure to me that the Virginia delegation cast 8 votes for submission and only 2 against. After the vote, the Legislative Committee and the Legislative Superintendent issued the following statement to the country:

The temperance forces of the country have reason to be deeply gratified by the results of this day. It is the first time in the history of the Republic that the question of national prohibition has gotten upon the floor of either branch of Congress. The fact that this first effort should have shown a clear majority of 8, with both floor leaders, the Chairman of the Rules Committee, and the prestige of the President and the Secretary of State invoked against us, and in view of the further fact that no member of the present Congress was elected on this issue, all this is exceedingly gratifying. A record has been made. The friends of the measure will no longer be fighting in the dark. For the first time the battle line is fairly and clearly drawn. Our appeal is now to the people. The longer it takes to secure submission the shorter time will be required to reach ratification.

Concerning this vote in the House, Secretary Bryan, who had declared in the *Commoner* that it was not an opportune time to propose a national prohibition amendment "because the submission of such an amendment at this time would divert attention from other issues pressing for consideration, without advancing the cause of prohibition," made a very brief statement in the issue of the *Commoner* following the vote. The statement was lacking in any warmth or enthusiasm. It simply declared that "the majority of 8 was a striking truth of the growing tide against the liquor business."

While my relations with Secretary Bryan from that time until his death were cordial, they were never very intimate. I worked with him on several committees, and while I believed that he was a thoroughly sincere prohibitionist, yet I thought at times he was inclined to use prohibition as a personal and political asset. . . .

On January 28, 1915, the National Executive Committee of the Anti-Saloon League of America met in Columbus, Ohio, from the minutes of which I give the following extracts:

"Dr. James Cannon, Jr., Chairman of the Legislative Committee, presented a written report for that Committee." The recommendations of that report were considered by the Executive Committee, and the following action was taken:

During the interim when the Executive Committee of the League is not in session each standing subcommittee shall have all the power of the Executive Committee as respects the policy and operation of the several departments for which these subcommittees were created, and that notice of this action be sent by the Secretary to the members of the several subcommittees and to the heads of the several National and State Departments concerned.

Furthermore, the committee voted

that the standing subcommittees on Legislation and Financial Management be requested to hold regular monthly meetings, and that the heads of these Departments present at such monthly meetings full reports, including statements of receipts and expenditures of these several departments.

Furthermore, the Legislative Committee was authorized to arrange for a conference to consider procedure with reference to the national prohibition constitutional amendment.

The above several actions were taken because I stated to the committee very frankly that I was unwilling to continue as chairman of the National Legislative Committee unless it was distinctly understood and ordered that the Legislative Superintendent, Dr. Dinwiddie, should make regular monthly reports to the Legislative Committee, which committee should have the entire authority of the Executive Committee during the interim of its meetings. Dr. Dinwiddie, the Legislative Superintendent, was an able and efficient worker, but he was secretive in his methods and did not know how to do "team" work. I had found myself embarrassed in the fight for the Hobson-Sheppard Amendment by failure on his part to give me information which I should have had to enable me to meet my own responsibility satisfactorily. I told the Executive Committee that I was entirely willing to retire, but that I was not willing to work as chairman of the Legislative Committee without authority over the department, including the Legislative Superintendent.

The committee not only adopted the resolutions above indicated, but the following was also adopted:

"Upon motion duly made, seconded and carried, Dr. James Cannon, Jr., was requested by the Committee to give as much of his time as possible to the legislative work at Washington."

This, after conference with my wife, I agreed to do under the conditions indicated above, and while I never attempted or desired to play the part of a dictator concerning national legislative matters, yet I did demand that both Dr. Dinwiddie, and later Dr. Wheeler, should conform to the letter and spirit of the above resolution. A desk was placed for me in the offices of the National League headquarters at Washington at which I continued to work as chairman of the Legislative Committee until its duties were absorbed temporarily by the Administrative Committee in 1930.

Thus, there was added to my other work one of the most important responsibilities I have ever had. It seemed impossible at first to take on any additional work. I was president of Blackstone College, not only as executive, but as teacher twelve periods weekly. I was superintendent of the Southern Assembly, which at that time, owing to war conditions, involved exceedingly difficult financial operations, besides the development of the regular summer program. I was editor of the *Richmond Christian Advocate*, and entirely responsible for its editorial and financial management. I was superintendent of the Anti-Saloon League of Virginia, calling for intensive efforts to secure a dry legislature and to frame dry legislation. I was also the principal owner and editorial writer of the *Richmond Virginian*, to which I had pledged practically all my savings up to that time. I was Secretary of Education of the Virginia Conference, writing and speaking regularly for that, my best loved cause.

Again I discussed very fully with my wife whether I should comply with the request of the National Executive Committee and spend a greater part of my time in Washington. A very beautiful president's home had been built after my return to Blackstone, and we were enjoying for almost the first time real family life, with my two daughters teaching in the college, the two younger boys in the college primary model-school, and the three older boys in college or university. It did seem a little too much to add any additional days of absence from home and family to those already necessary in Richmond for the Anti-Saloon League, the *Advocate*, and the *Richmond Virginian*, and frequent trips to Lake Junaluska, North Carolina, for the Southern Assembly work. But the call was not of my making. It seemed providential and almost imperative for the success of one of the great causes to which I had given my life. Once again my noble wife agreed to additional days of separation and added responsibilities for herself, and from that time my work in Washington became part of the weekly schedule.

When I agreed to the request of the Executive Committee I coupled with it a request of my own that Mr. Wayne B. Wheeler, superintendent

of the Ohio State Anti-Saloon League, should be relieved from his work in Ohio, and should come to Washington as counsel, or attorney, for the Anti-Saloon League of America, and as secretary of the Legislative Committee. This request was granted, and Mr. Wheeler was elected national attorney of the League, and in 1916 he removed his residence to Washington, where he remained until his death in 1927.

This insistence on my part was based on my association with Mr. Wheeler at meetings of the Legislative Committee. I found him to be alert, resourceful, sufficiently aggressive, and very amiable, easy to get on with in his personal relations. While Dr. Dinwiddie was still Legislative Superintendent, and I was in Washington as chairman of the committee practically every week, yet I thought we needed an additional man of a different type to do our most effective work. I found Mr. Wheeler to be a most companionable and industrious worker, suggestive, but not self-opinionated or stubborn in the conferences of the Legislative Committee and the Legislative Superintendent.

Dr. Dinwiddie was very jealous of what he considered to be the prerogatives of his office, and, notwithstanding the explicit action of the Executive Committee quoted above, at first he frequently absented himself from conferences which I called. Moreover, he locked with special locks the doors leading to the rooms where he did his own work with his own secretary. As these rooms contained the whole file of the *Congressional Record* and other reference books, it happened frequently at night when Mr. Wheeler and I were working and wanted to verify some reference that we could not get into the other rooms. I finally told Dr. Dinwiddie that he must remove the locks he had put on the doors, that all the offices were under my authority, as chairman of the Legislative Committee, and that if he wanted an office for his own private personal affairs he would have to rent another one. This he did, but the doors were unlocked, and at my insistence he attended the meetings of the Legislative Committee, but revealed very little of his plans and activities, except in response to persistent questioning on my part. This attitude of Dr. Dinwiddie's, in direct contrast to that of Mr. Wheeler and myself, made it seem that the Legislative Committee and the Legislative Superintendent were playing at cross-purposes, even though they agreed as to the objective to be secured.

This disagreement was more strongly emphasized in February, 1917. A bill prohibiting all liquor advertisements, or solicitations of orders for intoxicants through the mails, had been adopted by the United States Senate on January 11, 1917, and was added as an amendment to the Post Office Appropriation Bill. When the Post Office Appropriation Bill

came up for consideration on February 15, 1917, Senator James A. Reed of Missouri, a violent and abusive opponent of prohibition, offered what became known as the Reed "Bone Dry" Amendment, purely as a challenge to the dry members of the Senate. The amendment was as follows:

Whosoever shall order, purchase or cause intoxicating liquors to be transported in interstate commerce, except for scientific, sacramental or medicinal purposes, into any state or territory, the laws of which state or territory prohibit the manufacture or sale therein of intoxicating liquors for beverage purposes, shall be subject to the punishment aforesaid.

I was in the Senate gallery with Mr. Wheeler at the time Senator Reed proposed his amendment. We both realized that Reed as an enemy of prohibition offered his amendment for the purpose of producing confusion in the dry ranks. We went at once to the lobby and called for Senators [Morris] Sheppard [of Texas] and [Wesley L.] Jones [of Illinois] and suggested to them that the amendment be either amended or killed. They returned to the Senate and asked for a separate vote on the provisions of the bill. The vote was taken separately, and the provision relating to use was stricken out, and the Reed Amendment as quoted above was adopted with a very strange line-up, many of the wettest men in the Senate under the leadership of Reed voting for it, and many of the driest men voting against it.^{6a}

This "Bone Dry" Amendment went to the House, and the Legislative Committee had to decide what counsel it would give to its friends. The Reed Amendment utterly ignored the doctrine of states' rights, and many of our Southern Democrats stated to me very positively that they did not believe that such a law should be passed until national constitutional prohibition was adopted, that until the states decided that they desired national prohibition they should be allowed to pass such liquor laws as they pleased. I talked especially with a number of the Virginia representatives, who were entirely willing to vote to submit a constitutional amendment, but thought that Congress should not at that time pass a law which would infringe upon the liquor legislation already adopted by Virginia, and with this position I told them I was in substantial agreement.

Mr. Wheeler also recognized the danger of the situation, and somewhat to my surprise agreed that we could not afford to advocate legislation which was so distinctly anti-states' rights. He therefore drafted a letter advising dry representatives not to vote for the Reed Amendment. The letter, however, was not sent at that time. Dr. Dinwiddie, who had been absent from Washington, returned to the city, and without con-

6a. Cannon has oversimplified complicated legislative maneuvers here. Reed's original amendment contained a provision prohibiting "use" of liquor "so transported" (*Congressional Record*, Vol. 54, pp. 3330 ff., Feb. 15, 1917).

sultation with the committee spoke and telephoned to our dry people urging them to vote for the "Bone Dry" Amendment. Being informed of this action by some of my dry Southern friends, I called a meeting of the Legislative Committee with the Legislative Superintendent, and Dr. Dinwiddie was plainly told that he could not take any such action without the consent of the Legislative Committee. After thorough discussion it was finally agreed to send a letter to the members of the House which did not place the committee on record as either supporting or opposing the Reed Amendment, but told the members to vote as they pleased.

When I was asked personally by a number of dry members of the House what were my own views on the Reed Amendment, I stated that I personally believed that until national constitutional prohibition was adopted, states should be free to pass and to enforce their own legislation without interference by the federal government. I stated that the purpose of this amendment was to make a division in the dry ranks and to affect, if possible, the vote which would be taken later on the National Prohibition Resolution. I therefore thought that every man should vote upon the question in accordance with his own convictions.

Dr. Dinwiddie did not relish the action of the Legislative Committee in sending a letter to Congress signed by the entire committee and by himself reversing his advice previously given to congressmen without any consultation or authority. I myself greatly regretted the necessity for such an open rebuke, but it was very beneficial in the long run. It emphasized, especially to the Southern Democrats, that a Southern Democrat was chairman of the National Legislative Committee, and that nothing would be done by that committee until full consultation by the chairman with the Southern leaders in Congress.

My position on this question was sharply criticized by Congressman Glass, who in his desire to find some flaw in my record coupled my position on the Reed Amendment with the "One Quart" provision of the Virginia law as evidence that he was a far dryer man than myself.

The short, sharp battle on the Reed Amendment took place while the Legislative Committee was pressing for the passage of the Sheppard Prohibition Bill for the District of Columbia. The Senate Committee reported the bill favorably, but true to form the opponents of the bill, led by Mr. Underwood of Alabama, threatened a prolonged filibuster. Thinking, however, that they had sufficient strength, the opponents of the bill agreed to fix a date—January 9—for the final vote. On January 8, the day before the vote, the United States Supreme Court rendered its sweeping decision on the West Virginia liquor cases, in which decision the court declared that owing to the dangerous and demoralizing

nature of the liquor traffic, and the damage which resulted from the traffic, to both the material and moral welfare of the nation, the states in the exercise of the police power could enact any legislation they might deem necessary to protect the people.⁷

With the echoes of this great decision still thundering in the halls of the Capitol, the Senate on the next day took up the District Prohibition Bill. I think perhaps I put in more vigorous, persistent, personal work in connection with this bill than with any measure ever before Congress. The Underwood Amendment called for a referendum by the citizens of the District of Columbia, an unheard-of proposition before or since. My checkup indicated that the vote would be a tie. Of course, if it should be announced as a tie, the amendment would be lost. The Underwood people were depending upon the vote of Vice-President Marshall to break the tie in favor of the amendment. Senator Swanson, of Virginia, was a close friend of Vice-President Marshall, and that day for some reason Vice-President Marshall requested Senator Swanson to preside, absenting himself from the Senate, so that when the tie vote was announced the Underwood Amendment was defeated and the Sheppard Prohibition Bill was passed by the Senate, but was not taken up in the House of Representatives for several weeks.

The majority in the House were favorable to the bill, but a majority of the District Committee were friends of the saloon. Hearings were drawn out indefinitely. We waived the right or privilege of any hearing for the bill. March 4 was only ten days off, and the wet minority believed that it could prevent a vote. The Legislative Committee, however, had seen the House leaders, and had been promised that a special rule would be granted, giving a day to debate and fixing the hour for the vote. True to promise, on February 28, only four days before adjournment, a special rule was brought in, adopted by the House, and after an exceedingly bitter fight the bill was passed without amendment in a single section, and sent to the President for his signature.

During the delay in the House, Senator Martin, on his own initiative, suggested that I see the President, and made an appointment for me. The President was, as always, courteous, and while posted on the matter concerning which I had come to see him, had an air of abstraction. Indeed he impressed me in the latter part of February, 1917, as a man greatly burdened with a deep sense of responsibility. The ruthless German submarine warfare was at its height. Count Bernstorff, the German Ambassador, had been given his passport, and the thoughtful people in

7. *Clark Distilling Company vs. Western Maryland Railway Co. and State of West Virginia*, decided Jan. 8, 1917 (*U. S. Reports*, CCXLII, pp. 311-332).

Washington were sure that war with Germany was only a question of a few weeks. Somewhat to my surprise, before taking up the matter concerning which I had come to see him, the President inquired what was the attitude toward the war of the Southern people with whom I was brought in contact. I told him very frankly that I thought there was a great horror of entering into the war, and yet there was a steadily growing conviction that the Germans would make our entrance into it a necessity. I also told him that I thought the Southern people were willing to follow him as a leader in whatever course he might take.

Discussing the special matter of the District Prohibition Law, the President stated that he was not at all certain that he would have introduced such a bill in Congress, nor was he certain that he would have voted for it, but he assured me that he could see no really adequate reasons for vetoing a bill which had been passed by Congress for the District of Columbia to which Congress held the same relationship as the state legislature to a state. He reiterated what he had written me and told me before, that he was not opposed to local option on the liquor question or to state-wide prohibition under favorable conditions; that he had not given thorough study to national prohibition, but thought that it presented some grave problems. He added, however, that he did not think that he should inject himself into a fight for a prohibition constitutional amendment, either for or against it, and that he did not expect to do so, that the responsibility for submitting the resolution rested upon Congress without any approval by the President and the final ratification rested with the states.

I was satisfied when I left him that he would sign the District Prohibition Bill, and when I gave Senator Martin the details of our conversation, he expressed his own conviction to the same effect. In this second interview with President Wilson I was impressed, as before, that while he was a man with strong convictions on great fundamental questions, which convictions had been wrought into his very mental and moral being, he was essentially a fair-minded man, believing fully in hearing and weighing both sides of a question. Having heard both sides of the question of the District Prohibition Bill, he signed the bill [on March 3, 1917], and thus greatly disappointed the liquor element in Congress, which believed that he would veto the bill, which would surely kill it.

On April 6, having called Congress in extra session, President Wilson read his celebrated war message. In the House the two parties were almost equal in number. There was an overwhelming dry majority in the House, both on the Democratic and on the Republican side, a combined majority, as we believed from our record, of two-thirds. But when

the Democratic caucus met to outline the program of legislation to be considered during the extra session, and prohibition was included as one of the items, certain of the wet element, notably from Boston, left the caucus and served notice that they would not vote with the Democrats to organize the House if prohibition should be included in the program. They were determined that the Democratic party should not officially declare for prohibition, and were willing to go to the length of allowing the Republicans to organize the House in order to carry their point.

As all the policies of the administration were involved, a compromise was finally effected, and it was agreed upon that the House would not initiate any legislation, except that recommended by the President or the departments of the government. Thus it became impossible to originate any prohibition legislation in the House, notwithstanding the overwhelming prohibition majority in that body. So the battleground was transferred of necessity to the Senate.

When the Selective Draft Army Bill reached the Senate, our committee had already taken up with the President and the Secretary of War the matter of the protection of the enlisted men. I did not personally have any interview with the Secretary of War, Mr. [Newton D.] Baker, on that point, but I did with the President, and found him entirely sympathetic with the plan to prohibit the sale of intoxicants to soldiers in uniform, and to protect the soldiers from the red-light districts of the cities, and from vicious and immoral influences. When the bill passed the Senate containing those protective amendments, I knew that it had the support of the administration.

When it reached the conference committee, a bitter and persistent fight was made upon those items. Fitzgerald of New York and Kahn of California, two of the conferees of the House, refused to agree to these amendments, declaring in a statement to the public press that they were an insult to the manhood of the army. However, as the four other conferees favored the amendment, the bill was favorably reported, including the amendments, and was passed by both Houses of Congress.⁸ Several months later the Secretary of the Navy, the Honorable Josephus Daniels, made a request of Congress that these protective provisions of the bill

8. The Selective Service Act, approved May 18, 1917, contained the following provisions on the liquor question: the president was authorized to make regulations necessary to prohibit the sale of alcoholic liquors in or near military camps and to officers and enlisted men, and it was made illegal to sell intoxicating liquor (including beer and wine) to any member of the military forces while in uniform.

The Secretary of War was instructed to do everything he deemed necessary to prevent the maintenance of brothels near military installations (*Statutes at Large*, XL, 82-83).

be made to apply to the Navy as well as to the Army, and no man was bold enough to raise his voice in protest.

The next great battle was on the food bill. The President appealed to Congress to pass a Food Conservation Bill for the purpose of eliminating waste and preventing hoarding and exorbitant prices. Immediately after the declaration of war the prices of foodstuffs, including flour, went up steadily from day to day.

I was in Washington practically all the time for several months, except when necessary to go to Richmond, Blackstone, or Lake Junaluska for absolutely imperative work. In the midst of this legislative work I was obliged to prepare the catalogue for Blackstone College for the year 1917-1918. The boarding rates were very low at the college, and any large increase in price of food supplies would largely affect the rates printed in the catalogue. In order to be absolutely safe, I very promptly purchased three carloads of flour at the prevailing price—at that time, I think, \$10.20 per barrel. I knew these three carloads would care for the needs of the college for the next two months, and for the coming year even with a large increase of boarding pupils.

The Executive Committee of the college said that it could not furnish the money to buy and hold that much flour. I therefore told the committee that I would be personally responsible for the purchase of the flour, and so confident was I of the correctness of my judgment that I told the committee that if the price of flour declined, I would meet whatever loss was involved, and if the price of flour increased, and the flour should be sold, I would agree that whatever amount of profit was made should be applied toward the liquidation of the indebtedness of the college to me, which, as the books of the college indicated, was about \$10,000.

In less than thirty days after I purchased the flour, Mr. Herbert Hoover, who had been called to the United States to head up the Food Conservation Department of the Government, appeared before the Committee on Agriculture of the House and asked for the passage of a food bill which would effectually eliminate waste and prevent hoarding and speculation in foodstuffs. The next day the Lever Food Conservation Bill was introduced in the House. I realized at once that there was no further danger of shortage of food supplies, and immediately sold the flour which I had bought, realizing, as I recall, a profit on the sale of approximately \$1300, about \$2.00 per barrel. This amount was credited upon the balance due me by the college.

This flour episode was simply an incident relating to the business of the college, which I considered then, and consider now, to have been

simply a matter of prudent management, protecting the interests of the college in the issuance of its catalogue for the coming year. The purchase and the sale were both made, and the transaction entirely concluded, three months before the passage of the Lever Food Conservation Bill. Only a prejudiced, vindictive mind would ever have endeavored to make it to be an evidence of moral obliquity on my part. Concerning this more will be written in connection with the 1928 Anti-Smith campaign.⁹

The whole country was aware of the fact that the greatest waste in foodstuffs was the manufacture of grain and other food materials into malt, vinous, and distilled liquors, and that any real Conservation Food Bill should prohibit absolutely the further manufacture [use?] of such foodstuffs for the manufacture of intoxicants. The committee bill did not itself prohibit the use of foodstuffs for the manufacture of intoxicants. It seemed almost impossible to get the bill into the desired shape. Amendment after amendment was ruled out of order by the chair and the case seemed hopeless. But finally a motion was made to strike out certain parts of the bill, which motion the chair was obliged to rule in order. On a viva voce vote the chair declared the motion lost. On a show of hands the chair again declared the motion lost. But the drys persisted, tellers were called for, the motion was carried, and thus amended the Food Conservation Bill was passed by the House [on June 23, 1917], containing the absolute prohibition of the use of foodstuffs in the manufacture of all intoxicants.

The bill was fiercely attacked in the Senate. The wet members of the Finance Committee declared that it meant the loss of revenues of from \$300,000,000 to \$500,000,000, and when at last the bill reached the floor of the Senate the friends of the liquor interests delayed the passage of the bill by filibustering speeches. Finally the friends of the brewers declared that they would not allow the Food Bill to pass the Senate unless the prohibition of the manufacture of beer and wine was stricken from the bill. These threats were not made privately, but openly to those in charge of the legislation of the Senate and to President Wilson. The harvest season had already begun in some sections and was rapidly approaching in the great grain-growing sections. The President felt that the immediate passage of the bill was vital. He called the leaders of the Senate in counsel and was told by them that it was useless to appeal to the patriotism of the friends of the breweries and wineries for they had blatantly and brazenly declared that they would block the passage

9. This is a reference to the use of this incident in the 1928 campaign by Senator Carter Glass with the apparent purpose of undermining Cannon's influence.

of any food bill which contained any prohibition of the manufacture of wine and beer, thus admitting that their allegiance to wine and beer was greater than their allegiance to their country.

Faced by these unpatriotic threats of the friends of beer and wine, Senator Martin of Virginia conferred with President Wilson and told him that he was well acquainted with me, the chairman of the Legislative Committee of the Anti-Saloon League, and that he would have a conference with that committee concerning its attitude towards the passage of the bill. Our committee met in Senator Martin's office, and after talking with them Senator Martin called up the President over the telephone and outlined to him what he thought the Legislative Committee would do, should the President make a request couched in the language which Senator Martin indicated. President Wilson expressed his appreciation to Senator Martin and assured him that he would send a communication as indicated to me, as chairman of the Legislative Committee.

The President did send a communication, but it was not couched in such language as made it possible for the Legislative Committee to make a favorable response. Dr. Cherrington and I went over immediately to Senator Martin's office and found that he had received a copy of the same letter, and when we entered his office, we found him much disturbed by the letter the President had sent. We told Senator Martin that it was impossible for us to make satisfactory response to that letter, and he agreed we were right, and he stated that that was not the letter agreed upon in the telephone conversation.

He immediately called up the White House, got in touch with President Wilson, and told him personally and plainly that the letter sent was not in accordance with the agreement, that Dr. Cannon, the chairman of the committee, was in his office at that time and stated that the committee could not take favorable action on that letter, but that he was sure the committee would take favorable action if a letter was sent as outlined in the previous telephone conversation. Senator Martin then stated to President Wilson exactly what he understood the agreement to have been and told the President that were he on the Legislative Committee, he would not give favorable reply to the letter received.

President Wilson then stated to Senator Martin that he desired to withdraw the letter which he had sent and would send immediately such a letter as Senator Martin had outlined. The first letter, having been withdrawn, was never made public. When the second letter was received, the Legislative Committee met and carefully considered it. After consultation with our friends in the Senate, the bill was amended to

prohibit the use of food materials for distillation, but leaving the use of such materials for the manufacture of beer and wine to the discretion of the President.

When our correspondence with the President was first published, some of the extreme prohibitionists criticized the action of the Legislative Committee very strongly as involving the surrender of a vital principle. But the great mass of the prohibition people and the public generally thought that the committee had taken a very sane, patriotic position. The wet newspapers, led by the *New York World*, were loud in their denunciation of the Legislative Committee and of myself in particular. The *World* declared:

. . . that the most significant thing, however, and the most menacing to the future peace and tranquillity of the Republic is the fact that a sectarian religious minister had to be appealed to by the President of the United States as having more influence and power in determining the vital legislation of the nation than the Chief Executive!

The reply of the Legislative Committee had greatly commended itself to a large majority of the Senate, so that after the correspondence was made public, several senators announced their intention to vote for the resolution to submit constitutional prohibition. There was not any doubt in our minds but that the two-thirds vote would be secured in the Senate for the prohibition resolution. There was a group of senators, led by Senator [Warren G.] Harding of Ohio, who had been counted upon by the liquor interests to oppose the resolution. These senators, however, had little heart in their opposition.

Senator Harding finally proposed a trade with the liquor interests and the Anti-Saloon League. He agreed that if a provision should be attached to the resolution which would limit the time allowed for ratification by the states, he would vote for the resolution. The limitation finally suggested was six years. Senator Harding did not believe it would be possible to ratify the amendment in that length of time and so told the liquor lobby. Mr. Wheeler was somewhat doubtful as to whether the time allowed would not be too short. He brought the proposition to me to lay before the Legislative Committee.

I discussed the matter with Senator Harding and discovered that he had no special conviction for or against the Prohibition Amendment. He stated to me very frankly that he did not consider prohibition to be a moral issue, and apparently he never did so consider it. I desired the majority for the resolution to be as large as possible and I had no doubt but that the amendment would be speedily ratified. I therefore recom-

mended the acceptance of Senator Harding's proposed amendment. When the vote was finally taken in the Senate on August 1, 1917, the resolution was adopted not by two to one, but by more than three to one [65 to 20], senator after senator who had been regarded as doubtful voting for the submission resolution.

After the passage of the Food Conservation Bill and of the submission resolution by the Senate,¹⁰ prohibition legislation came practically to an end during the extra session of Congress. But when the regular session began on Monday, December 3 [1917], the Committee on the Judiciary reported out the prohibition resolution favorably by a vote of 15 to 5, and the House fixed December 18 as the date for the consideration of the resolution. We were certain that we would get the necessary two-thirds vote, but we wanted to secure as large a vote as possible. As I have indicated above, President Wilson had told me positively that he would not take any part in the contest. Mr. Bryan was out of the Cabinet but was quite an influential factor, having influence with many members of the House. He was very active on the prohibition platform after his retirement from President Wilson's Cabinet, and was, I am sure, a sincere convert to the cause of national prohibition. We brought every possible influence to bear upon Congress to make the vote as large as possible.

The daily press reported the one-sided battle in the House and the overwhelming victory of the dry forces. The vote was 282 for and 128 against. In this final vote on the national prohibition resolution [December 17, 1917], the representatives of 24 states voted solidly for the measure, more than three-fourths of each congressional delegation in 30 states voted for it, and a majority of the congressional delegation in 36 states were recorded for its passage, and one-half or more of the delegation in 42 states voted for it. In the Senate both senators from 28 states voted for the resolution, and in only four states did both senators vote against the resolution.

Ratification of the proposed Prohibition Amendment to the Constitution was then the immediate work to be pressed by the National Legislative Committee. Dr. Wheeler thought that it would require a great deal of campaigning and that it might take several years. Other League leaders were quite uncertain as to how long a time would be

10. The Food Conservation Bill (1917) contained the following provision which related to the liquor question: the President was authorized to limit or prohibit the use of foods or fruits for the production of malt or vinous liquors for beverage purposes, whenever these foods or fruits were found essential for the national defense (*Statutes at Large*, XL, 276-287).

required for final ratification. Studying carefully the list of the state legislatures which would meet within the next two years, I stated that I thought the amendment would be ratified in two years or less. But even I was not prepared for the enthusiasm which the dry people manifested throughout the nation. The first act of the Mississippi Legislature was to ratify the Prohibition Amendment on January 8, 1918. I was glad that Virginia ratified almost immediately upon the meeting of the legislature in January, 1918, and the votes of these two Southern states were followed very quickly by the votes of Kentucky and South Carolina. The necessary three-fourths was finally secured on January 16, 1919, and national prohibition, therefore, went into effect on January 16, 1920.

VII. Europe, 1918

DURING THE LATTER part of 1917, the bulk of the regular Army and some of the men enlisted under the Selective Draft Act sailed for France. Reports came back from various sources concerning the unfavorable conditions which the soldiers were facing as to the sale of intoxicating liquors and from prostitution and vice. From many sections of the country protests came to the Anti-Saloon League headquarters in Washington demanding that some action be taken to secure the utmost possible protection for the sailors and soldiers who had gone out from our homes in dry territory and protected areas to the poorly controlled sale of intoxicants and to the open, uncontrolled vice and prostitution in England and France. As chairman of the Legislative Committee, I laid the matter before President Wilson and he recommended that I see Secretary of War Baker and Secretary of the Navy Daniels. This I did, and reported back to the Executive Committee of the Anti-Saloon League that both Secretary Baker and Secretary Daniels were willing to appoint two men selected by the Anti-Saloon League leaders to go to Europe and to make a thorough investigation, and make a report to the two secretaries of their findings.

The government did not make any appropriation for expenses, but did promise thorough co-operation on the part of the War and Navy Departments in Washington, including such letters to General Pershing, Admiral Sims, the Honorable Walter H. Page, Minister to Great Britain, and the Honorable William G. Sharpe, Minister to France, as would enable us to do the work under most favorable conditions.

Dr. E. J. Moore of Ohio,¹ then Assistant General Superintendent of the Anti-Saloon League, and I were requested by the Anti-Saloon League committee to act as the two commissioners.

I returned home at once from Washington to confer with my wife concerning this important and somewhat dangerous work. . . .

. . . My wife and I having decided that I ought to go, I took up the

1. Edward Jay Moore (1863-1935) was pastor in the Methodist Episcopal Church and active in Anti-Saloon work in Missouri. He served as Assistant General Superintendent of the Anti-Saloon League of America, 1916-1925.

matter with the trustees of Blackstone College. While reluctant for me to be absent for so long, yet the Executive Committee desired that I should do the work and granted me leave of absence. Letters from Secretaries Baker and Daniels and proper passports having been given us, we sailed from New York on the *Carmania* in February, 1918.

When I went to France in 1913, the trip from New York to Cherbourg on the then palatial *Olympic* was made in less than seven days. No passport was required. The bill of fare was equal to that of the most expensive hotels. The band played on the deck every night, and the ship gleamed with light from end to end.

But in February, 1918, the government had fixed most stringent requirements on the passports, and no one was permitted to take up space on the ship unless on most important business. No one was allowed to come on the ship without a passport. The passengers were under strict regulations. All windows and portholes were closed tight at night. Matches could not be struck or cigars or cigarettes smoked on deck, and in the danger zone no one was permitted on deck after dark. Boat drills were a daily occurrence without any notice until the whistle blew, and in danger zones life preservers were required to be worn on deck, at meals, and in staterooms, except when asleep, and then passengers were advised to sleep with their clothes on, and with life preservers in the berth.

No intoxicants could be purchased by any officer or private. The bill of fare, while furnishing ample nourishment, gave little variety and few dainties. Religious services on Sunday were attended, and after the first few days I was asked to conduct the services every morning. Our ship was one of a convoy of eight transports, carrying all-told about thirty thousand men, with an armored cruiser in the lead from the time we left Halifax until the last three days of the voyage, and then eight torpedo boats appeared, and surrounding us on every side carried us through the danger zone to the mouth of the Mersey. We landed at Liverpool on the sixteenth day of sailing, nine days longer than was required for the trip in 1913.

There were on our ship over twenty-two hundred doctors and nurses. Nearly everyone on board belonged to the Medical Corps. When I preached the second Sunday morning, after conducting daily short services during the week, much to my surprise the dining room was crowded. I remember that I preached in realistic fashion on the text "There is no discharge in that war." After the service one of the commanding officers asked me if I would preach again at night, as so many could not get in to the morning service. Of course, I gladly consented to do this and

preached at night on one of my favorite texts—"He [Benaiah] also went down and slew a lion in a pit on a snowy day." While there was no attitude of fear, yet there was a very clear recognition that the war was not simply an exciting adventure, but a call to service which could not be denied. We had been obliged to wait in Halifax Harbor for some other ships of the convoy to come in, and we there had a picture before us of what war really meant, for the entire waterfront of Halifax was in a heap of ruins, having been devastated by an explosion, from what source has never yet been discovered.²

The war was in the latter part of the fourth year when I arrived in England the first of March, 1918, and external changes were many. At the Liverpool docks porters had formerly besieged passengers to carry their baggage. Now only elderly men were in service, and I was obliged to hunt up a porter and engage him to come after he had handled the bags of three other men. On the tram cars and omnibuses young women were collecting fares and occasionally driving the cars. In the hotels and restaurants women were in charge from the manager's desk down to the bell girls. Wages had greatly increased in every department of service; some two or three times as much. As in the United States, this increase had been much greater among those who worked for day wages than for the white-collar class. While rent, fuel, clothing, and food were much higher, yet the English workingmen had more money in proportion than ever before. This [was] true also of the wives of many soldiers who, receiving the pay allowances of their husbands, began to frequent public houses (saloons) and to squander their pay. The papers emphasized that there had been many sad cases of homes destroyed by the folly of wives whose husbands were absent in the Army. . . .

In March, 1918, the people, while they had not become reconciled, had learned to accept discomfort, privations, sufferings and sorrow, and even death, as inevitable. And they faced the naked facts of war in a quiet calmness which might have been taken for indifference, until one pierced below the surface and found that it was an invincible determination to endure until the end that Great Britain might be saved. . . .

I realized that the people both in England and France had suffered severely from nervous strain, owing to their proximity to the conflict even when the battles had not been fought in their own territory, as

2. On December 6, 1917, a munitions ship, the *Mont Blanc*, blew up after colliding with a Belgian relief ship, the *Imo*. Although enemy aliens were suspected, a government inquiry and trial seemed to result in the conclusion that either a misunderstanding of signals or improper routing of the ships was responsible (*London Times*, Dec. 8 and 17, 1917, and February 5, March 16, 20, and 22, 1918).

has been the case in eastern France. To live in the possible line of march of great armies is a dangerous and trying experience. When I reached England and France, the reports as to the conduct of the German soldiers were horrifying in the extreme. Refugees from Belgium and northeastern France had carried to England and other parts of France their stories of their treatment by the German soldiers. It is difficult to get at the actual truth as to the destruction and the outrages which followed the march of the German Army. But when I arrived in England, the fear of what they considered to be a brute beast crouching for another great spring was upon both England and France. Russia had fallen.

The United States had come into the war not quite a year before, but our Army was still small; not over 300,000 fighting men all told had come across by March 1. The British and French people realized that the crisis of the war had come. Would the Allied Armies be strong enough to hold back the enemy till the American Army could be trained and successfully transported? The atmosphere was tense with the strain of the suspense of a nation whose heart was with its soldiers on the fields of France. But there was no weeping, no giving away to fear and despondency. Every public utterance in the press, in the pulpit, in the House of Commons, on every platform, small and great, called upon the people to pledge themselves anew, to give labor, money, sons, husbands, and themselves that England should continue to be free and not under German rule; or, as one splendid woman expressed it in conversation with me, "What would life be worth to me and mine under German domination?" And this determination to throw everything into the breach and to lose everything fighting rather than to live under German rule was characteristic of the people in both England and France.

In seeking for facts for the special report (which I was commissioned to make to Secretaries Baker and Daniels) concerning moral conditions surrounding our soldiers and sailors in Great Britain and France, my natural allies were Ambassador Page and General Secretary R. L. Ewing of the Y.M.C.A. in England, General Pershing, Ambassador Sharpe, and General Secretary E. C. Carter of the Y.M.C.A. in France. Upon presentation of my letters of introduction from Secretaries Baker and Daniels I was cordially received by all of these officials and assured of their full and sympathetic co-operation. Through Mr. Ewing I met a number of the Free Church leaders, Drs. Wiseman, Myers, Young, Griffith-Jones, Horton, Holden, Selbie, and especially Dr. Fort Newton and Dr. John Clifford. All of these Free Church leaders appreciated

the solicitude of American fathers and mothers for the conditions which would surround their sons in Great Britain and France.

While the King and Prime Minister and many British leaders declared for total abstinence during the war, Free Churchmen were disappointed because the British government had not decreed the prohibition of the manufacture and the sale of all intoxicants. At one time in the early stages of the war such prohibition seemed probable, immediately following the King's total-abstinence declaration. It was also emphasized that the continued waste of foodstuffs in the manufacture of intoxicants was without any adequate excuse. I told these Free Church leaders that I held that the governments of Great Britain and France should be asked to issue an order forbidding the sale of all forms of intoxicants to American sailors and soldiers in uniform, perpetuating in the war zone the same regulations which obtained in the American training camps. I also emphasized that the American Congress had prohibited absolutely the use of foodstuffs for distillation and were on strict rations in order to send to Great Britain 75,000,000 bushels of wheat, which Lord Rhondda, Food Controller of Great Britain, had called for. I insisted that if the American people could deny themselves in order to help win the war the British people should do likewise.

I had lengthy conversations with Lord Rhondda, Food Controller, Lord D'Abernon, chairman of the Liquor Control Board, Mr. Asquith, and Prime Minister Lloyd George. Lord Rhondda was deeply impressed with the facts I presented, but that very day went to the hospital, where in a short time he died. Lord D'Abernon stated that he thought if the United States government should officially request the British government to prohibit the sale of intoxicants to our soldiers, the request would be granted. The French government made a somewhat similar statement, but not as positively as did Lord D'Abernon.

The next day in a conference . . . concerning the attitude of the English leaders on the liquor question, . . . [Mr. Herbert H. Asquith, former Prime Minister] said that Great Britain would respond to any reasonable request from the United States as far as our own soldiers were concerned, but that he doubted whether the government would go any further than it had gone in the restrictions of the Liquor Control Board. He was weighed down with great personal sorrow, as well as with patriotic solicitude, and he said to me with grave solemnity, "My oldest son has been killed in action; my second son is now in the hospital severely wounded; my third and last son is now on the battlefield in France." He said that he realized the difficulties which beset President Wilson in bringing a great nation into the war without clear and ample

justification; that he had hoped, however, for more than a year that the manifest spirit and aim of the German leaders would have made it clear to the American people that the defeat of Great Britain and France would have been exceedingly hurtful to the United States.

The Free Church Council met shortly after my arrival in England and it gave me the unusual opportunity to hear expressions from the leaders of the Free Church bodies. They were exceedingly courteous to me and gave me a place on the platform and a few minutes to bring the greetings of the American churches. The most interesting session was that at which the Prime Minister, David Lloyd George, made a stirring address praising the Free Churches for their undivided co-operation and full of the spirit of optimism of the final outcome now that "America had come in." I was impressed that, while carrying a tremendous load of responsibility for varied forms of activity in the war, the Prime Minister gave the impression of serious optimism, and of still untapped physical, mental, and spiritual resources.

Dr. John Clifford, in many respects the outstanding Nonconformist of England, was much impressed with my argument that Great Britain could not expect the United States to continue to practice self-denial in order to ship 75,000,000 bushels of wheat to England while England was wasting millions of bushels of foodstuffs in the manufacture of intoxicants. He insisted, therefore, that I should lay the matter before the Prime Minister, and he made an appointment for us at 10 Downing Street.

I was greatly interested to go into the house in which Gladstone, Balfour, Salisbury, Asquith, and Lloyd George had guided the destinies of the British Empire. I do not think anyone but Dr. Clifford could have secured thirty minutes of the Prime Minister's time, but Lloyd George regarded Dr. Clifford as a great Nonconformist hero, and he treated us with the greatest respect. There was no haste nor any touch of antagonism to my statements. He listened, asked questions, agreed that the argument could not be successfully answered, but that he feared it would be hurtful to agitate the question, unless and until the United States government made a direct demand. My contact with Lloyd George at close range made me realize his amazing vitality, mental alertness, and sympathetic attitude towards moral issues.

During my conference with Admiral Sims it was disclosed to me that the greater part of the American fleet was stationed in the waters east of Northern Scotland, and that he would like for me to visit the fleet and meet with the officers. I, therefore, went to Inverness and then to the small town of Allness, where I preached on Sunday to a large group of

the officers in the morning and to the men at night. The conditions surrounding the fleet were practically ideal from the moral standpoint. The officers with whom I conferred agreed that the American standards should be made applicable as far as possible to the sailors in European waters.

I do not think I have ever experienced as penetrating cold as on that trip in the middle of March to the north of Scotland. The thermometer was not so low, but the air was damp and cold and penetrated to the joints and marrow. I wore two suits of underwear, usual white shirt, heavy coat and vest, heavy woolen sweater, heavy overcoat, and heavy raincoat, about as much clothing as I could carry around, but I shivered and was uncomfortable all the time. The hotel where I stopped was a picture of neatness and comfort, except for the cold. It had one large fire in the fireplace in the dining room, and no provision for heat anywhere else in the house, which was built of gray stone. The bedroom contained everything necessary for comfort except heat, and when I stated that I would have to go downstairs and sleep in front of the fire the proprietor said that he would put three pigs in my bed, and brought up three brown stone jugs full of boiling hot water, surrounded by which I managed to get through the night, but was always awakened in the morning by cold, thoroughly chilled nose and ears. These Scotchmen in the north surely do "endure hardness," and splendid characters have been produced, but it is a raw, unsupportable climate for those who have not been used to it from their youth up. . . .³

The night before I was scheduled to go to Paris I was walking along the streets of London, darkened through fear of German night air raids. I was down at Ludgate Circus and my hotel was up on Russell Square, many blocks away. I heard the alarm sound, and flashlights began to play across the sky, and the air guns set up a ceaseless racket. I knew that the "terror by night" German Zeppelins were making an air raid and would throw their death-dealing bombs upon an unfortified city to destroy noncombatants, including old men and mothers and children. Immediately there was a rush in the streets for the cellars, and the poor people in the tenements, mothers with infants in arms, small children clinging to their skirts, hurried to the stations of the underground railways. I heard the explosion of the bombs falling upon the houses of sleeping people, and the incessant rattle of the air guns driving the Zeppelins away. I hastened as rapidly as I could, darting in and out of doorways, more afraid of the falling missiles of the aircraft guns than

3. The omitted portion here consists of a description of some of Lady Astor's activities during the war.

of the bombs from the Zeppelins. I read in the paper the next morning that six tenement houses had been destroyed and about sixty people had been killed, most of them in their beds. This barbarous, inhuman species of warfare was employed by the Germans as one factor in their determined efforts to break down the morale of the Allies before any considerable number of our troops could reach France.

I found that owing to the intensive submarine warfare by the boats of the Germans, my crossing to France would have to be postponed until the following day, and that then it would be necessary to go by way of Southampton to Le Havre, taking the risk of the torpedoes. I crossed to Le Havre safely, and went immediately on to Paris.

The next day I was sitting in the office of General Lewis, at the Paris headquarters of the American Army in Rue St. Anne, discussing with him the purpose of my mission, when a shell exploded, it seemed to me, across the street. The shock was so great that I sprang involuntarily from my chair, but General Lewis was apparently unaffected and sent his aide to find out what had happened. He returned shortly and reported that a shell from the seventy-five-mile long-range German gun had struck the church at St. Gervais, causing the falling in of the roof, with the resultant death of ninety persons and the wounding of seventy-five more. Owing to the fact that it was Good Friday the church was full of worshippers. Two days later a shell from the same gun fell in a maternity hospital and killed several women with their babes in their arms. Day after day from that time on until I left the city, shells from this long gun fell at intervals of thirty minutes into the city of Paris, an unfortified city, with no guns or armies in it, a city full of people engaging in peaceful pursuits of life.

No one could tell where the next shell would fall, or who would be the victim, but the certainty that a shell would fall every half hour somewhere was nerve-racking to thousands of people. This violation by the German government through its air, army, and navy forces of all ideas of fair play, decency, and common humanity outraged the nations of the world. No apologies can defend this "frightfulness." This reckless, outrageous effort was made to break the morale of the Allied nations before any considerable number of our troops could reach France.

Upon my arrival in Paris, I promptly called upon the American ambassador, the Honorable William G. Sharpe, stating the purpose of my mission, and receiving a very cordial promise of co-operation. The next day I had a conference with General Pershing, who gave me copies of all the statements which he had made and the general orders which he had issued. He was thoroughly conversant with the purpose of my mission,

and appreciated the need for drastic regulations to protect our enlisted troops. On February 15, 1918, General Pershing had addressed a letter to the Chief-of-Staff, in which he said:

In view of the movements of large numbers of our troops to England I have requested the British authorities to assist us in every way in preserving the morals and good health of our troops in their camps. I have called their attention to the absolute prohibition against strong drink in force in the United States to all officers and soldiers in uniform, and asked their assistance in applying this as far as consistent with their own laws and customs to our troops serving with them. Many of the Colonial troops who first came to England suffered from the lack of discipline and the changed environment on their arrival in Europe, and every effort must be made both at home and here to keep the good name the American soldiers now have both in England and in France.

After I had shown him the letters from Secretaries Baker and Daniels, he stated that he would render me all possible assistance if I would let him know what I desired. On the next day, March 29, I wrote to him:

DEAR GENERAL PERSHING:

In accordance with our conversation on Thursday morning, March 28, I am enclosing in this a paper indicating some information which I need in order to prepare a satisfactory report. I will appreciate as full an answer to these inquiries as possible, and though I fully understand the exceedingly important matters which you have always in hand, the more quickly you can help me to secure this information the better results I can obtain from my general study of conditions.

Thanking you for your courtesy and attention, I am,

Yours sincerely,

JAMES CANNON, JR.

In reply to this letter General Pershing sent me a sweeping "white paper" which briefly but positively directed that all members of the American Expeditionary Force, officers or enlisted men, should give to me any information which I might request which did not pertain to military movements or strategy. Armed with this authority I was received everywhere by officers and men with courtesy, not to say cordiality. Some of the officers expressed surprise that such a sweeping order should have been issued, but none of them refused to give the desired information.

General Pershing's letter to the Chief-of-Staff quoted above is an admirable condensation, and states important facts in a few words. It indicates his great desire as Commander-in-Chief of the American forces

to protect the men under his command. Located as these men had been in the cantonments in the United States, protected as no army has ever been protected from the assaults of the dramseller and the harlot, strengthened by the recreational, entertaining, social, educational, and religious influences furnished by the Y.M.C.A., the Y.W.C.A., and the new force of chaplains coming directly from the active ministry, the world never saw a large army marshaled and trained under such influences with such high standards. No army has ever been assembled in the United States or in any other country as free from drunkenness and vice as the army which our country sent to Europe. This did not mean that putting on a uniform necessarily changed a man's attitude towards life, his passions, his tempers, his appetites, or that it changed a sinner into a saint. It does mean that the American Army as trained and sent to France showed a higher average of efficiency and morality than any other army the world has ever seen.

But the change in environment referred to by General Pershing was very great. Coming from training camps in America, free from vice and drink, they were landed at seaports in foreign countries where practically no restriction was placed upon immorality or the sale of intoxicants. Prostitutes from houses inspected and licensed by the state, "street walkers" and women of easy virtue swarmed after the American soldiers and sailors, especially in London and Paris.

The appeal made in circulars from American Army headquarters to all American soldiers "to practice sexual abstinence as it is practiced by great college athletic teams" not only had no active support in Army circles in Great Britain and France, but was regarded in many quarters as a species of idealism, bordering on Puritanical fanaticism, and as an unjustifiable infringement upon the personal liberty of the soldiers, who, it was openly declared by many prominent men, and by women also, should be given the opportunity to indulge their appetites, if they so desired, in view of the great sacrifices they were making. Indeed, the French idea went so far as to propose that medically inspected women be furnished for the American soldiers that they might be guaranteed opportunity for "safe" sexual indulgence, and thus might be made more contented with their lot.

This attitude toward immorality is directly in accord with the attitude toward the use of intoxicants. Intoxicants are sold practically everywhere in France down to the smallest country villages. They are sold in restaurants, hotels, grocery and provision shops, as well as in distinctive wine shops and cafés. For example, General Scott told me

that in the city of Bordeaux there were approximately twenty-five hundred places where intoxicants were illegally sold.

In discussing this matter a French official, who was very sympathetic, said: "Why, of course, we want to do anything we can that America wants done." When I told him what we had done, that in Washington, the capital of our nation, it was unlawful to sell intoxicating liquors, he said: "Yes, I have heard of that." But when I added that that included wine, champagne, and beer, he threw up his hands and said: "It is impossible!" Sympathetic as he was, it was difficult for him to understand the viewpoint.

In my investigation of conditions I went to Brest, St. Nazaire, Tours, Dijon, Lyons, Aix-les-Bains, and Bordeaux, and went into the front lines of the army, the advanced section of which was in the neighborhood of Toul. At all these places I called for the official records of drunkenness and venereal disease, which records emphasized the reasons for the general orders which General Pershing issued. In General Order No. 6 he emphasized the vital necessity that each member of the American Expeditionary Force maintain himself in the best physical condition. The permanent injury and inefficiency resulting from venereal diseases was strongly emphasized and it was ordered that all men contracting such disease should be court-martialed and severely punished. Two months later, in General Order No. 34, General Pershing said: "With this in view it is incumbent upon all officers, soldiers and civilians attached to the American Expeditionary Force to insure temperance, and to prevent the ravages of venereal diseases with their disabling consequences."

On November 15, 1917, a circular was issued to all members of the American Expeditionary Force in which the kernel of Orders 6 and 34 was stated in brief compass and the following strong paragraph was added: "Venereal diseases have made terrible ravages in the armies and civilian population. The danger is greater now than ever before. Syphilis is particularly prevalent. The cleanest woman is often the worst infected. The only absolute safety is absolute abstinence."

Conditions did not improve in the larger towns and cities, especially in the seaports; so General Pershing issued General Order No. 77, devoted entirely to the subjects of intemperance and venereal disease. All commanding officers are directed to give personal attention to the enforcement of the order, and "no laxity or half-hearted effort in this regard will be tolerated." Instructions are given "to locate by the Military Secret Service the houses, rooms, or apartments in sections of towns occupied by women engaged in prostitution, and all such places will be

considered 'off limits'. Should men return to camp in intoxicated condition, they will be seized by the guards and taken to a prophylactic station where treatments will be administered."

General W. S. Scott, in command of the Bordeaux area, issued sweeping orders, stating that in future any officer found on the street or in a café with a prostitute would be court-martialed for disgracing the uniform of the United States Army. "American officers, soldiers, or civilian employees are forbidden to drink, purchase, or receive as gifts whiskey, brandy, champagne, or other alcoholic beverages, except light wines and beer. The continued violation of the laws of morality and decency and drinking and violations of orders by officers, soldiers and civilian employees necessitates [the] stringent methods of this order."

Shortly before I went to Bordeaux General Scott addressed a long letter to General Hallouin, the French General in charge of the region around Bordeaux, on the subject of "prostitution and intemperance." The letter quoted the paragraphs in General Pershing's General Orders relating to prostitution and intemperance, and then added:

It has, however, been found that the spread of venereal disease is reaching a percentage larger than can well be ignored. An effort has been made to improve these conditions, but with little success. In conformity with General Pershing's orders, all houses of prostitution have been placed "off limits" for American officers, soldiers and civilian employees and our guards are attempting to enforce this. A very difficult feature arises where women on the street are soliciting prostitution, and this is the most difficult feature to handle—my object in writing this letter is to ask the co-operation of the French officials.

This letter of General Scott's indicates the great difficulty which the commanding generals had in controlling prostitution and intemperance in France. Conditions became so bad in Paris that finally no leave of absence was granted to men and officers to visit Paris, except under exceptional circumstances. Leave areas were established in smaller French cities.

The above leads me to emphasize what I stated some years later before the committee of the House of Representatives. It was difficult to give an estimate of the French people during the war without using extravagant language concerning their virtues and touching comparatively lightly upon their faults. They remind one somewhat of Esau and of the Prodigal Son. They have a passionate devotion to France. They are brave, daring, tragic, almost spectacular. They are equal to any form of sacrifice, rushing fearlessly, almost recklessly, in the jaws of certain death, bearing with unbroken fortitude the strain of years of war. But while recognizing their virtues, the great difference in the standards of

the United States and France before the war on some exceedingly vital matters cannot be ignored.

The American generals emphasized American standards on the matter of intemperance and prostitution, and endeavored to save our soldiers from the evil consequences of both. The French authorities, including many of the generals in the Army, could not understand the emphasis placed by General Pershing, General Scott, and other commanding officers upon liquor-drinking and sexual indulgence. The history of French kings and the nobility generally has accustomed the French people to the idea of openly acknowledged mistresses of kings, nobles, and common people. While French family life has had some excellent features, yet the practically universal acceptance of the idea of the mistress and the prostitute has resulted in giving to France probably the largest illegitimate birth rate to be found in any civilized nation. Arthur Brisbane, who was in no sense a purist, in one of his paragraphs written shortly before his death, said:

The French people are disturbed because one-fifth of all the births in France at present are illegitimate births. According to the Paris newspaper, *Le Jour*, of 41,000 [*sic*] births in France last year, 9,000, more than one-fifth of the total, were illegitimate. One radical French gentleman insists that the French Government ought to do something about this, and the Angel Gabriel probably agrees with him.

This attitude toward sexual life has doubtless been emphasized by the continued alcoholization of the French people from childhood. The continued use of alcohol has a direct effect upon the sexual nature. No less authority than Mussolini called upon the Italian people to drink more wine because the effects of wine-drinking was to increase the natural activities resulting in the birth of more children for Italy.

There is no question in my mind but that the French standards concerning drinking and sexuality had a great influence upon the American Expeditionary Force as a whole. The usual French attitude was emphasized not only in France, but to some extent in Great Britain also by the idea that men who were running the risk of maiming or death should be given such indulgence as they desired. American social life has been tremendously influenced by the contact of two million or more young Americans with the young men and women of France.

I found much interest among the soldiers in religious services, especially when conducted by chaplains who lived and stayed with the men in the trenches and on the front line of battle. I was privileged to preach a number of times, both on weekdays and Sundays, and there

was always good attendance and good attention. The chaplains of the Army, headed up by Bishop Charles H. Brent and Mr. W. R. Moody, were carefully selected, and generally rendered efficient service. Some of the outstanding men in American church life preached in the Y.M.C.A. huts, mess halls, and other places to large and serious-minded groups of soldiers. Probably no army ever had more earnest, helpful, Christian chaplains, both Protestant and Roman Catholic, than did our army on the fields of France.

It was one of the duties of the chaplains to bury the dead killed in action, and one day I saw a cemetery right in the midst of the area of conflict. I was over in the Toul section and, accompanied by a lieutenant, I had gone to the extreme limit of the American line to inspect a number of dugouts which had been captured by our troops. Some of them were quite remarkable by the way in which they had been furnished and made habitable, almost as though for permanent occupancy. As I went along through the trenches I looked across the barbed-wire entanglement and saw an American flag. I got up out of the trench and with the lieutenant walked over to where the flag was flying, and when I came to it, there were twenty-three graves of American boys dug right there on the battlefield by the chaplain, who had put a marker carefully over each man's grave so that when the war was over, if the tide of battle had not swept over the field and wiped them away, the identity of every grave would be known. I could but uncover my head and then and there offer a prayer for the homes from which these boys had come, never to return. And yet, as I believed then, and I believe now, these American boys hoped that they were in a war to end war, and that they had given their lives hoping that the world might be safe not only for democracy but for righteousness.

Later on I saw several of these small cemeteries in the very lines of battle. My own son, James Cannon III, who at the age of twenty-six was appointed Division Chaplain of the First Division, was cited for bravery and given the Croix de Guerre for marching with his troops in the front line of battle and burying the dead of his regiment under the constant fire of the enemy.

Having remained with the army as long as it was possible if I were to reach home in time to attend the General Conference in 1918, I returned to Paris and wrote to General Pershing thanking him for the assistance which he had rendered me in the performance of the duty assigned me. Secretary of War Baker was in Paris at the time, and at a conference with him it was agreed that I would hand in my report on my arrival in Washington. On April 13 I went to Bordeaux and waited

there for the sailing of the French vessel *Rochambeau*, one of the poorest and slowest of the French steamers, but which, strange to say, had made several trips to and from New York without attack by the German submarines.

Moral conditions at Bordeaux were worse than at any [other] place I visited in France, which was doubtless the cause of the sweeping orders as given by General Lewis quoted above. There were a large number of colored troops located in that area, and General Lewis told me that the French prostitutes eagerly sought out these colored troops at every payday, trying to get their money before they sent it home; that they frequently were found by the Military Police even in the barracks, and had to be forcibly ejected out of the camp.

On April 17 the *Rochambeau* sailed from Bordeaux, but waited a day at the mouth of the Gironde River, because it was reported that for the first time the German torpedo boats had been seen off the coast. We went out the mouth of the river at noon and were sitting at dinner about 6 P.M. I had purposely gotten a seat near the door. The *Rochambeau* was armed with cannon fore and aft to protect herself from torpedo boats. Suddenly the cannon in the after part of the ship began to fire. I rushed out quickly to the deck and over at the left a torpedo boat had appeared, and I saw the torpedo coming across the water. The man at the wheel gave the head of the ship such a sudden, sweeping turn to the right as to throw me violently to the deck, but I was up in time to see the torpedo pass harmlessly by about seventy-five feet to our right. The *Rochambeau's* guns were trained on the submarine and it speedily submerged, and without any further attack we reached New York April 29.

After some correspondence with Dr. E. J. Moore, who had returned to the United States some time before I did, we made our official report as special commissioners to Great Britain and France to the Honorable Newton D. Baker, Secretary of War, and the Honorable Josephus Daniels, Secretary of the Navy. This report of sixteen closely printed pages entered quite fully into the conditions concerning intemperance and prostitution, giving vital facts and presenting definite recommendations, as follows:

1. It is recommended that the standard adopted by Congress in the passage of the law, prohibiting the sale of intoxicants to soldiers and sailors in uniform, and the practice of prostitution in the zone of military and naval camps be maintained for our soldiers and sailors when they leave the United States. General Order No. 77 should be strengthened at once by

striking out the exemption as to light wines and beer, and prohibiting the purchase, possession or acceptance as a gift of all kinds of intoxicating liquor. It should also be made applicable to the Navy as well as to the Army. The sweeping order of General Scott for the Bordeaux Base, which prohibits any officer or man to be in the company of a woman of immoral character, on the street, in a café or in any room or house of assignation, or prostitution, should be extended to apply to all American soldiers and sailors. The violation of this order would subject the offender to court-martial and punishment as provided in General Order No. 77, and the officers should be given to understand that they will be held responsible for the strict enforcement of this order.

There should be no hesitation and no delay in issuing this order, and in passing this legislation, for the prompt taking of such action will prevent the formation of wine-drinking habits by American soldiers and sailors, and the purchase of strong liquors under the cloak of the wine bottle, and would result in a still greater reduction in sexual vice.

2. It is recommended that the American government, either through the Department of State or through the military and naval authorities, request the governments of Great Britain and France to issue an order prohibiting the sale of intoxicants by residents of those countries to American soldiers and sailors in uniform in deference to the standards concerning intoxicants and prostitution established in the United States for the Army and Navy, and recently emphasized in a statement made by General Pershing in which he said: "From the military point of view we cannot tolerate alcohol among our soldiers. War is merciless; men must be competent; the drinking man makes a bad soldier. The Army won't stand alcohol because it must conserve its manpower."

3. It is recommended that the Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy unite in a joint statement to the American people, emphasizing in the strongest possible way the great and beneficial work that is being done by the Y.M.C.A. and the Red Cross in Europe, not only in furnishing physical comforts and social pleasures, but in strengthening the moral fiber of the men, and assisting them to resist solicitations to vice and intemperance. Ever proper stimulus should be given to secure the subscriptions of our people of whatever sum may be necessary to maintain the work of such organizations in full vigor, enabling them to send to Europe a force of men and women, adapted to perform the services of inspiration, uplift, and practical helpfulness, which has already counted for so much in the lives of our men in the training camps, and which is doubly needed now that they are to be engaged in active battle.

The General Conference met on May 2; so I had only three days and three nights after landing to stop in Richmond for a full understanding of the situation as to the *Advocate*, the *Virginian*, and the Anti-Saloon League, and to go to Blackstone to survey with the faculty what had happened during my absence and to outline plans for the rest of the

session. I arranged for conferences in Richmond and Blackstone by wire, and also for a conference of the commissioners of the Southern Assembly at Atlanta, but much to my surprise I was obliged to reshape my plans after reaching Richmond. The following report is taken from the columns of the Richmond *Virginian*:

Back in Richmond for barely a day on his return from France on a mission for the American Government, Dr. James Cannon, Jr., was the guest of honor at a dinner given at Murphy's Hotel last night at which about 100 men of distinction from all parts of Virginia and from outside the state were present. As a token of their affection and esteem the friends, who had arranged the dinner, gave him a handsome sterling silver water pitcher and goblets suitably engraved.

Dr. R. H. Pitt, editor of the *Religious Herald*, and President of the Virginia Anti-Saloon League, presided as toastmaster. Secretary S. K. McKee, of the Central Y.M.C.A., spoke for the Presbyterians; Mr. Jacob Umlauf for the Lutherans; Rev. John Scott for the Episcopalians, and Rev. William E. Thompson for the Methodists, all briefly voicing their pleasure at Dr. Cannon's safe return.

Dr. George W. McDaniel, pastor of the First Baptist Church of Richmond, one of the outstanding leaders of the Southern Baptist Church, had been chosen to make the presentation speech. Dr. McDaniel said:

"We are gathered on this occasion to honor a most remarkable man, Dr. James Cannon, Jr., who is admitted to be one of the outstanding figures of Virginia and the nation. In ability he is unsurpassed by any, his enemies themselves being the judges; and he has his enemies in large numbers. A few are those whom he has bested in debate and do not easily forget or readily forgive a victor. Some are the envious. Human nature is so constituted that it is jealous of the great. Jealousy is the tribute that inferiority pays to superiority. Byron says:

'He who ascends to mountain tops shall find
The loftiest peaks most wrapped in clouds and snow;
He who surpasses or subdues mankind
Must look down upon the frown and hate of those below.'

"For the most part, however, Dr. Cannon's enemies were the friends of the liquor traffic and hated him because of the cause he fearlessly represented. He may not be the best loved, but he is the most feared man in Virginia and the wrongdoers are the fearful. The forces of evil, unable to combat the relentless logic of this man, have resorted to every method short of lawlessness and criminality to destroy him. Had his character been weak, had his armor been vulnerable, he would have been destroyed long ago.

"Dr. Cannon is one of the most versatile and indefatigable of workers. He can do more things well than can any one man among a half million. He is an educator, a business man, a preacher and editor and reformer, and excels in every sphere. The school over which he presides at Blackstone is

the clearest demonstration of splendid educational advantages for young women, at minimum cost. It is almost a miracle how, with so few loaves and fishes, he feeds so many girls. His business judgment and acumen are the admiration of great financiers and the despair of other denominational educators. As a preacher he is forceful in delivery, clear in statement and sound in faith, and at times speaks with a pathos which moves the heart deeply. As an editor he has the distinction of founding the first daily paper in Richmond that consistently champions all moral measures.

"Through the *Virginian* he has awakened a civic consciousness, and through the *Christian Advocate* he has stimulated and directed a denomination's thinking. In the field of temperance he is our intrepid and incomparable leader.

"Nature richly endowed him with a clear and capacious mind, and he has made full use of his talents. To Dr. Cannon, more than to any other man, is due the credit for the passage of the enabling act by the Virginia legislature, which gave the people the right to vote to outlaw the liquor traffic. Through long, weary years of opposition and strife he worked with patient persistence, unperturbed faith and tremendous energy to give the citizens the right to say whether or not the saloon should live. He could not be diverted from his course by extraneous issues, nor intimidated by a disrespectful secular press, nor discouraged by a faint-hearted constituency, nor defeated by an unscrupulous foe. The cord that rang the bell which sounded the knell for John Barleycorn's funeral in Virginia was pulled by many hands, but by none that had a right to reach higher on that cord or pull with more joy than the hand of James Cannon, Jr. When the federal amendment to the constitution is finally ratified, and a disenthralled nation shall celebrate its hard-won freedom, from the avaricious and cruel despot of drink, the most appropriate person to deliver that oration will be James Cannon, Jr. . . .

"Unlike some ministers and reformers, Dr. Cannon is always sure of his facts. He familiarizes himself with both sides of a question and his sharp sword has sent more than one antagonist limping and bleeding from the combat. I doubt that in all his controversies, he has ever been taken unaware or caught unprepared. When he discusses a subject he exhausts it. Little more can be said when he has had his say. He irons out all the wrinkles and leaves the garment smooth.

"These sentiments are expressed in honest conviction and sincere appreciation by one who has not always agreed with Dr. Cannon. On temperance measures we have generally been in hearty accord; on certain other questions we have differed. But I thank God I am not so made that I cannot rightly appreciate a man whose views differ from my own. If I am capable of recognizing greatness, Dr. Cannon is a great man. . . .

"My friends, our guest has just returned from a mission for the government among the soldiers in Europe. What his report is I do not know, but I do venture that he went to the bottom and saw conditions as they exist.

What he tells the Government will not be 'half-baked' and upon his opinion the American people may safely rely. It seems eminently fitting that Dr. Cannon's homecoming after a voyage across the treacherous Atlantic should be signalized in some becoming manner. His friends, therefore, have arranged this dinner and done me the honor to ask me to perform a very pleasant duty. In their behalf I now present this handsome silver pitcher and goblets, with their esteem and devotion. The inscription on the pitcher is the sober truth:

'Fearless foe of evil
Able advocate of righteousness.' "

. . . I have given this report of the banquet with Dr. McDaniel's speech . . . not in order to print a eulogy of myself or my work, but for a special reason. At this very time in April, 1918, my general activities were well known to the people of Virginia. It was known that I was a minister of the Virginia Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, of thirty years' standing. It was known that I was the first President of Blackstone College, and was then the president after twenty years as its head, involving as it did various kinds of business transactions. It was known that I was the owner and editor of the *Christian Advocate*. It was known that I was one of the founders, and one of the largest investors in the Richmond *Virginian*, a daily newspaper. It was known that I was superintendent of the Anti-Saloon League of Virginia, and had worked persistently on the platform, in the press and with the Virginia Legislature for the extermination of the beverage liquor traffic. It was known that I was the superintendent of the Southern Assembly, and in that capacity was obliged to carry on large and important financial transactions, and that I had built and was the owner of a summer hotel on the Assembly Grounds (in order to help accommodate visitors). It was known that I had made investments in property in the city of Richmond and elsewhere, for suit had been brought against me by a real-estate firm of Richmond, which was decided in my favor. It was known that I had been charged with buying and selling stocks, and that I had never denied that I had done so.

All these things were well known, as I had been under the spotlight for many years, and the wet newspapers had made every possible charge against me. In view of all these things I consider that the banquet, the speeches, and the presentation of the gift to me with Dr. McDaniel's tribute on April 30, 1918, was one of the most significant facts of my life. It recorded publicly not what the Blackstone trustees thought, not what the Southern Assembly commissioners thought, not what the Executive Committee of the Anti-Saloon League thought, not what the

Virginia Conference thought, but what the representatives of various churches thought, as expressed at this largely attended banquet presided over by Dr. R. H. Pitt, at that time and until his death in 1937 recognized as one of the outstanding religious editors of the country.

I was attacked about ten years later by secular newspapers as unfitted for the bishopric because I frankly stated that I had engaged in all the various forms of activity indicated above—religious, semisecular, and secular. The approval of my Virginia friends who had full knowledge of my record, and my election two weeks later to the episcopacy by the General Conference of my Church was an endorsement of my record up to that time. Certainly if my record was not known, it was not because I had made any effort to hide any part of it.

VIII. Episcopal Activities

It is difficult to delimit strictly episcopal activities. During twenty years of episcopal service there were many important activities such as unification, Near East Relief and travels connected therewith, conferences of faith and order, of life and work, or war and peace, etc. The episcopal office may or may not have been of any importance in connection with any of this work, but as the writer entered into this work as a bishop, these matters are discussed under the head of episcopal activities.

MAY, 1918, BEGINS a new chapter in my life. The great questions which had been foremost in my thought and activity were education, missions, and social reform. While [I was] not less interested in any one of these great subjects, yet my work as a bishop compelled a change in relationships. I resigned the presidency of Blackstone College, I sold the *Baltimore and Richmond Christian Advocate* to the Virginia Conference, and I resigned the superintendency of the Anti-Saloon League of Virginia. The General Conference of 1918 established a Commission on Temperance and Social Service, consisting of seven members, of which I was the chairman. The scope of the work of the commission was very broad, including domestic relations, industrial relations, interracial relations, social reforms, recreation, and international relations. The commission, however, was given no budget, and the work which was done was paid for by money raised by my personal solicitations. The work of this commission, which later became a board, will be discussed more fully in the chapter on "Activities in Social Reforms and Public Life."

My election as bishop had, by the constitutions of those boards, automatically made me a member of the Board of Missions and of the Board of Church Extension, so that I was officially connected with the boards of the church which had under their supervision the work of education, missions, and social reform.

I had indicated that I would be glad to have some mission conferences in my episcopal jurisdiction. When, however, the first draft of the committee on episcopal assignments became noised around, and it was learned that I had been assigned to Brazil as my special field of labor, there was great surprise.

Mr. John R. Pepper and Dr. George R. Stuart¹ went to see Bishop Atkins, chairman of the committee, and protested that I could not be sent out of the country at that time because of my relations to the Southern Assembly and to the cause of national prohibition. Dr. Stuart was very forceful in his protest, and both of them declared that if the assignment was not changed, they would move a resolution on the floor of the General Conference requesting that I be given conferences in the United States or contiguous thereto. The protest was heeded, and I was given an episcopal district containing all the Mexican Conferences together with the Northwest Texas and New Mexico Conferences in the United States. The English-speaking Conferences [of this area] I held only one year, but in that time I made some very pleasant acquaintances which have continued throughout the years.

All the Mexican work remained in my district for eight years, and the Western Mexican Mission was in my district continuously after 1930. In 1922 the addition of Cuba to my district gave me supervision of all the Spanish-speaking work from 1922 to 1926. In 1921 the Belgian Congo was added to my district and remained in it until 1934. In 1926 Brazil and the Congo composed my district. In 1930 my episcopal district included Brazil and the Congo, but Brazil, having been created an autonomous church, was taken out of my district and the two Mexican Conferences in the United States added thereto. Later the Texas-Mexican work was assigned to another bishop. In 1934 my episcopal district conference included the Arizona, Pacific, and Northwest Conferences, and the Western Mexican and California Oriental Missions. Thus from the beginning throughout my episcopal life, I always had jurisdiction over mission work to a greater or less extent, and was constantly related as a supervisor of mission fields to the General Board of Missions at Nashville. It is as proper to be said here as anywhere that in all my work with the Board of Missions, there has been no friction, but most brotherly official relations.

Mexico (1918-1926)

When I first took charge of the Mexican field in 1918, the Cincinnati Plan² for the division of the work in Mexico had recently been adopted

1. Dr. George Rutledge Stuart (1857-1926) was widely known as an evangelist and lecturer. He was professor of English and Natural Science at Centenary College (1885-1890) and pastor in Birmingham (1916-1926).

2. On June 3 and July 1, 1914, a convention attended by representatives of the larger Protestant denominations met in Cincinnati to discuss the missionary program in Mexico. It was decided to try to avoid the duplication of missionary functions by the various denominations. The Cincinnati plan provided for the division of the territory among the Protestant denominations. The original plan was modified at later conferences held in 1917 and 1919 (W. R. Wheeler, D. H. Day, and James B. Rodgers, *Modern Missions in Mexico*, Philadelphia; The Westminster Press, 1925, pp. 118-121).

by the different Protestant bodies, but transfers of the workers had not been made. It was exceedingly difficult to get into Mexico at that time. The country was in a state of revolution, and Francisco Villa was terrorizing the state of Chihuahua. The State Department at Washington had called out the missionaries and had refused to grant passports for their return to Mexico on the ground that they could not guarantee the safety of United States citizens and might become embroiled in war because of failure to protect them properly. I went to Washington and conferred with Mr. Robert Lansing, then Secretary of State. I emphasized the importance of the return of the missionaries to restore the shattered morale of the church membership, to protect the mission property, and to continue to carry on the work. I assured the Secretary of State that all the missionary workers, including myself, had petitioned to be allowed to return, and would sign a waiver exempting the government from all responsibility for their welfare if anything should happen to them. On this agreement the State Department issued the passports, and Miss Esther Case, Dr. W. W. Pinson, and I, with one or two others, went into Mexico [in 1919] and inspected the property.

We spent the night at Chihuahua, learning the next day that Villa had made a raid within seven miles of the city, and had hanged a number of his victims to the telegraph pole as a warning of what he would do to those who resisted him. The waiving on the part of the missionaries of their right to protection by the American government had a very fine effect upon the Mexicans and made them realize more clearly that the missionaries were willing to take great risks in order to bring to them the true gospel of Christ in comparison with the superstitious and idolatrous teachings of Romanism.

I proceeded at once to put into effect the Cincinnati Plan. I called all our missionaries, and all the native preachers and workers, from the central districts of Mexico to the five northern states which had been assigned to the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. While the plan gave the right to all the Mission Boards to retain work in the City of Mexico, I thought it inadvisable to have any worker separated from the rest of the territory by hundreds of miles.

I made plans to intensify and develop the work in the capital cities of Monterrey, Saltillo, Durango, Chihuahua, and in the important commercial city of Torreon. New schools were opened at Monterrey and Torreon. The schools at Saltillo, Durango, and Chihuahua were greatly strengthened. Social centers were opened at Monterrey, Durango, and Chihuahua. New hospitals were opened at Torreon and Chihuahua, and the Monterrey hospital was greatly improved. A school, dispensary, and

social center were also opened at Piedras Negras, and later on an industrial school was opened at Montemorelos. The school system in Mexico was in a deplorable condition, but I endeavored at every preaching place, wherever it was possible, to have a primary school in connection with the church. By this method congregations at the churches were largely increased and many were added to the church.

In San Antonio and El Paso training-school work was strongly emphasized. The Wesleyan Institute at San Antonio was established, and the Lydia Patterson Institute was greatly enlarged. New quarters were bought for the Effie Eddington School in El Paso. A large community center was opened in the heart of the Mexican population in El Paso. The centenary campaign, which continued through the years from 1918 to 1920, brought a large amount of money into the treasury of the Board of Missions and made possible the carrying out of this extensive development. . . .³

Conditions in Mexico grew steadily worse as far as the attitude of the government toward religion was concerned. In articles which I wrote for the *Nashville Advocate* and the *Methodist Quarterly Review* [April, 1926], I expressed my views very fully. I held that most of the provisions of the Constitution of 1917 relating to religion were justified by the struggle with the Roman Catholic Church which the Mexican Republic had had from the time of the revolution under Juarez. The oppression of the Church had been monstrous. In its bigotry and intolerance it had commanded that the state recognize no religion except the Roman Catholic; it was constantly endeavoring to evade or to subvert the provisions of the Constitution. It had no right to protest against any measures the government might take to suppress its arrogance and its flouting of any restraints. I held, however, that there were some provisions of the Constitution which were entirely too sweeping, and which imposed restrictions on the teaching of the Gospel which could not be justified, and against which every Christian church must protest. The denial of the right of any foreigner to preach the Gospel in Mexico, I declared, would have prevented Paul from preaching in Mexico and sent him to prison, just as was done at Philippi; and just as Paul declined to be restricted by any laws in his preaching of the Word of God and en-

3. Cannon's second son, W. B. Cannon, became a medical missionary to Mexico in 1921. While there he contracted pneumonia, and although he recovered, his health remained so poor that he was forced to return to the United States in 1923. While in Mexico he had been responsible for building a new hospital at Torreon. It was Bishop Cannon who, while in Mexico in 1923, decided that his son should return to the United States. On this visit the Bishop was seriously injured when he fell in leaving the train in the semidarkness at Liminez. He was hospitalized at Torreon for ten days.

tered country after country regardless of stripes and imprisonment, so I held that the Church and the missionaries to Mexico should follow the teachings of their Master and of the Great Apostle, Paul, rather than the laws of Mexico.

There were some of the Mexican preachers who were quite insistent that all of the work of the Mission should be put in the hands of the Mexican preachers, and that they should be allowed to administer all the funds of the Mission Board. With this view I did not agree but held that, as long as possible, the missionaries should remain on the field, and that the funds of the board should be administered, as they had always been, by the bishop in charge and the presiding elders, whether they were Americans or Mexicans, and by the missionaries in charge of the schools, hospitals, and social centers.

During the last year of my administration in Mexico [1925-1926], in company with those sensible, heroic secretaries, Miss Esther Case and Dr. E. H. Rawlings, I went to Mexico City to consult with the government officials as to the correct interpretation of the law. I was assured by the Minister of Education, who conferred with President Calles, that the laws were not meant for Protestants, that we need not be disturbed, that we could carry on our work, but that the laws were meant for the Roman Catholics who were unwilling to have any restrictions placed upon them, and who were still exploiting the ignorance of the peons.

In the year 1926 I was assigned to Brazil and Africa, and had no supervision over Mexican work again until 1930, when I was given charge of the Mexican work in the United States. The setting-up of the autonomous Mexican Methodist Church resulted in the recall of all the male missionaries but one, left some of the women workers in charge of schools and social centers. A number of Mexican students attended Lydia Patterson Institute at El Paso and the Wesleyan Institute at San Antonio and returned to Mexico to work among their people; but the law had been applied with increasing severity so that many of the Mexican pastors were not permitted to preach in their pulpits, but could simply make talks in Sunday School or in an informal fashion.

I have no sympathy with the efforts of the Roman Catholic Church to secure interference by our government with the internal affairs of Mexico, especially its administration of its religious laws. I hold that the government could, with equally as good reason, interfere with Roman Catholic bigotry, intolerance, and persecution in Poland, Austria, Italy, and elsewhere. But I do believe that all the great Protestant bodies of the United States should appeal to the government of Mexico to change its laws so that the preaching and teaching of the Word of God may be free

and open to everybody, whether Mexicans or foreigners. Many of the most precious friendships of my life are those formed with missionaries and native workers among the Mexican people.

Alabama Conferences (1920-1922)

By order of the General Conference of 1918, the first two years of the quadrennium were given over to the centenary movement, and the last two years to the educational campaign. The Board of Education elected me to be the chairman of the Educational Campaign Commission, and I gave much time and labor to that work. In 1920 the two Alabama Conferences were placed in my episcopal district, and the people of the city of Birmingham very kindly rented a home for my family in which we lived for two years. I stated to the College of Bishops, at the time of this appointment, that I could not give to this great field the amount of attention and active superintendency it should have and continue to do the general field work which I had planned to do as chairman of the Educational Campaign Commission. I requested that I be relieved, but the committee on assignments of the College of Bishops thought otherwise, and so hamstrung my work as chairman of the commission.

Thus the Alabama Conferences were assigned to me, and while, at the urgent request of the Educational Commission, I continued to act as chairman and did as much committee and field work as possible, I felt that it was necessary to give the most of my time and labor to Alabama, which had a population of 2,350,000. The membership of the Methodist Church in the state was about 190,000. While speaking at leading centers all over the Church in accordance with the campaign plans, I emphasized the work in Alabama.

During the two years [that I presided over] the Alabama Conferences [1920-1922], I delivered sermons and addresses at one hundred and thirty-two different points in the state, and attended numerous meetings in connection with both the centenary and education work. I pleaded for sufficient money to develop Birmingham-Southern College and the Woman's College of Alabama into A-grade institutions. In order to spring the entire Church in Alabama, I worked to secure subscriptions of \$100,000 each from Mr. R. S. Munger and Mr. W. H. Stockham, two of the leading Methodists of Birmingham. Under the stimulus of these large subscriptions, the preachers and laymen of the two Conferences, responding to the persistent leadership of their presiding bishop, made subscriptions sufficient to place their colleges on such a foundation that they have been able to build up steadily from that time on.

The educational campaign was the greatest work that had ever been done by the Church up to that time for her schools and colleges. It rescued institutions that were in a critical condition, paid off their debts, enabled them to erect new buildings, and increased their endowment. It was a very congenial task for me, as it was simply an extension to a broader field of the kind of work which I had been doing for over twenty-five years.

I reported to the General Conference in 1922 that I had found that the people would travel many miles and attend service on weekdays, even at unusual hours, to hear one of the bishops of the Church discuss the work of the Church. I also reported that the educational campaign was a great blessing to Alabama Methodism, the profiting of which would appear not only then, but in after years. The amount subscribed in Alabama for the Christian Education Movement during the two years was \$1,753,000.

With my experience in connection with the Randolph-Macon and the Vanderbilt University discussions, I strongly emphasized in Alabama the great demand for Church ownership and control. I insisted that in no other way could the character of the teaching be guaranteed and the institutions be really representative of Methodist thought. . . .

During my administration of the Alabama Conference, I was faced with criticism, indeed positive opposition, from some of the Alabama preachers, because of some of my appointments. I was not surprised at the disapproval of some of my appointments, for I had found some conditions existing with which I had been very familiar in the Virginia Conference, and had taken such action as I thought would improve the conditions. I had no personal animus, as the members of the Conference were largely strangers to me. I was somewhat surprised when my critics went to the length of trying to organize opposition to my return in appealing to the College of Bishops for a change. . . . [However] strong representations were made by preachers and laymen insisting upon my return. I was returned and carried out the plans I had begun the first year.

At the General Conference of 1922, both the Alabama Conferences asked for my return, but after a great deal of very earnest thought, I asked to be given supervision of mission fields only. This request was granted, and I was given no more home conferences until 1934. Many of my friends have not agreed with me in my requests for mission Conferences, believing that a man with my views and methods was needed in the home field. But wisely or unwisely, the choice was made; and until 1934 I had supervision of only four home Conferences. Thus as an

administrator I was brought into personal touch with very few of the ministers and laymen of the church except on boards and at General Conference sessions. I now think this was a mistake, but it makes more significant the support given me by the Church in the attacks made upon me from 1928 to 1934.

The Belgian Congo (1922)

The work in the [Belgian] Congo, if fully covered, would in itself require a small volume. My relation to the Congo work came through my close friendship with Bishop Walter R. Lambuth⁴ who had pioneered the Congo Mission, and who went out in his second trip with the first missionaries, saw them located, but was unable personally to organize the work. He had wanted to return to the Congo, but he realized that his health would hardly be equal to the strain, and so. . . he urged me to make a trip to the Congo in his stead. When Bishop Lambuth died, the College of Bishops, meeting in Richmond in December, 1921, carried out [his] wishes. . . and requested me to take charge of the Congo work. This, after full consultation with my wife, I finally agreed to do.⁵

Mrs. Lura Bennett Cannon was as much a casualty of World War I as though she had been an actual participant in the struggle on the field of France. In the winter of 1918, when her husband and two of her sons were in France, she carried the heavy burden of the family at home with a heart all aquiver with anxiety as to what might be happening to her absent loved ones in France. Few who have not experienced it can understand the strain upon those who waited for weeks without any news whatever. . . .

The effects of the strain resulting from overwork and anxiety did not appear at once, but in the winter of 1920-1921 my wife had a very severe attack of high blood pressure, which necessitated her going to the hospital in Birmingham for some weeks. She was told by the physicians at the hospital (her son, Dr. W. B. Cannon, being a member of the staff) that there had developed a condition of high blood pressure which might be controlled so that she would live for several years, or she might have a sudden fatal attack at any time. She accepted the situation with the calmness and trust of a true Christian. She said and did nothing to disturb her husband and her children unduly, but determined to live as long and as helpfully as possible.

Therefore when the African assignment raised the question of being

4. Walter Russell Lambuth (1854-1921), medical missionary who worked principally in China and Japan, was elected bishop in 1910. He was an author of several books and for ten years editor of *Review of Missions*.

5. See pp. 316-317 for further amplification of this.

separated for four months with a distance of thousands of miles between us, and no possibility of quick return in case of dangerous illness, she herself settled the question, telling me that she had always tried to be a help and not a hindrance to me in my church work for the Kingdom of God. She could not ask me to sit down in the house and be with her lest in my absence, even at church or in a neighboring city, she might have a sudden attack. It was settled finally, once and for all, that I was to continue to carry on my work just as usual, and that I was to agree to take charge of the Congo Mission. . . .

I made three trips to the Congo, one in 1922, one in 1927, and the last in 1930. The route in 1922 was via Antwerp, to Dakar, Boma, Matadi, Kinshasa, Leopoldville, the Congo, the Kasai, and the Sankuru rivers, to Lusambo, all by steamer and rail. From Lusambo I traveled by caravan. Before sailing I saw the Minister of the Colonies in Brussels, secured such official letters as he thought would be helpful, and tried to get an understanding of the real attitude of the government toward Protestant work in the Congo.

I knew that Belgium was a Roman Catholic country, and yet the Socialist party under the leadership of M. Vandervelde insisted that the treaty by which Leopold was given control of the Congo should be strictly observed.⁶ This treaty gives to all churches equal rights to carry on missionary and educational work in the Congo, but of course the government can in various ways make it more difficult for the Protestant denominations to do their work, and give the preference in every way possible to the Roman Catholics. In all my twelve years of supervision of the Congo, I have tried to keep on good terms with the Belgian authorities, but I have recognized a steadily increasing pressure from Rome to minimize to the utmost the work of the Protestant missions and to finally drive them out entirely.

The trip from Antwerp to Matadi on the Belgian steamer was slow and tedious. The staterooms were small and stuffy, fortunately with only two in a room, my companion being a returning missionary. The only break in the trip was at the city of Dakar, the capital of French Senegal (West African Colony). The town called itself the "Little Paris of West Africa," and endeavored to ape Paris in its shops, cafés, manners,

6. From 1885 until 1908 the "Congo Free State" was under what amounted to the personal rule of King Leopold II of Belgium. This relationship had been recognized at the Berlin Conference (1884-1885), but the treaties made there had called for equal trade, equal missionary opportunities, and religious freedom. Leopold apparently paid little attention to these provisions and subjected the "Free State" to authoritarian control. In 1908 so great was the international reaction to this development that the Belgian parliament asserted authority over the area and promoted extensive reforms.

and morals. Vice flaunted itself, as in Paris, but in crass, gross fashion, without any French artificiality; certainly, the French did not seem to have improved the morals of the natives of the colony.

The evidences of the Congo were seen far out into the ocean. The current of the mighty river swept its water and mud over [twenty] miles out to sea. When the steamer tied up at Matadi, I wondered how I could live in the torrid climate for the week before we could leave for the higher country. The temperature was 106° in the shade practically all the time, and in the heat of the day it went up to 120° , with great humidity.

I met the veteran missionary, the Reverend Mr. Clark of the Baptist Church, who was probably the Nestor of the missionaries in the Lower Congo⁷. . . . I stayed at Kinshasa and Leopoldville, the commercial and governmental capitals of the Congo at that time, for over a week waiting for a steamer for Lusambo, the nearest navigable point to Wembo Nyama, the center of the Congo Mission.

The Congo was the only colony which Belgium had ever had, and for the early years when Leopold was in unbridled control, nothing was thought of except the exploitation of the natives and of the country. After the great powers had called a halt upon the atrocities practiced under Leopold, the government had abated many of its cruelties, but the chief aim of the administration was still to get as much out of the country as possible. Later on, King Albert endeavored to impart a different spirit to the colonial administration. I was courteously received by the colonial administrators at Leopoldville, but I realized that the government really did not have any interest in the success of any of the Protestant missions in the Congo, and would greatly have preferred to have had no Englishmen or Americans carrying on mission work. . . .

The incidents of that first Congo trip were chronicled in the *Nashville Christian Advocate* [1922 and 1923] to the extent of twenty or more articles and will not be repeated here. I traveled from Lusambo on foot and by hammock to Minga, the nearest mission station, and then to Wembo Nyama, the central station, making the trip by easy stages, walking in the cool of the morning and evening, and riding in a hammock part of the time.

I had several meetings with Chief Wembo Nyama, in whose tribe the central mission station is located. I found that he was not one of the great chiefs, but had a comparatively restricted territory. He was very similar in his thinking to many Negroes whom I knew in the South.

7. Joseph Clark and his wife were at this time at Matadi, but during their forty years of missionary work, they had been stationed at numerous points in the Congo.

He was emotional and was greatly stirred by the singing and the preaching at the mission services. At such times he would insist that he wanted to be a Christian, in fact that he was a Christian, but that he could not join the church because the Mission required that a man have only one wife, that he had over twenty-five and he was obliged by the tribal law, as he said, to retain all of them, be a husband to them, and father of their children. He did not object to his wives joining the church, and some of them did so, but he never would agree to select one wife and live with her alone and take care of the rest. He said that would be unjust to the other wives.

Bishop Lambuth, who was named Kabengele in the Atatela language, had given and sent Wembo Nyama presents. And as the custom was in the Congo, Wembo Nyama had sent presents of eggs, chickens, fruits, and vegetables to the new bishop, to whom the natives gave the name of Onongeno, meaning "The Happy Warrior" because I smiled and laughed with them so much. Wembo Nyama was satisfied with the presents which I gave him, especially with a suit of clothes which were much too small for him, but in which he arrayed himself greatly to his own discomfort and to our amusement, and attended the Sunday service when I preached. When I went to see Wembo Nyama at his house, I found him clothed in native fashion, wearing only a heavy loin cloth and sandals. We parted pledging friendship, and I promised to send Wembo Nyama a gold ring, which I did upon my return to America, greatly to the delight of the chief.

After several days of delightful conference with the missionaries, learning their needs and the great difficulties which they confronted, I started on the return trip by the way of Tunda, the eastern station of the Mission, to the railroad at Kibombo, thence by steamer and rail, a trip of two weeks to Cape Town. The way to Kibombo was much more difficult than that from Lusambo to Wembo Nyama. There were wide rivers and creeks out of their banks, and more than once I had to get on the shoulders of a native bearer and trust his strength and sure footing to carry me safely through the water and mud. I did not enjoy riding on the shoulders of the naked men, but they were eager to carry me, laughed and showed their white teeth at any idea that they were not strong enough or would stumble, and none of them did stumble or fall, even in crossing on slippery logs. . . .

In one way, the most interesting experience of the trip was a dinner given to me and the accompanying missionary, Brother Davis, by Tunda, the native chief for whom that village was named. He was evidently part Arab, a man with much more than average intelligence, a far greater

chieftain than Wembo Nyama. The dinner was served on the open porch of Tunda's house with hundreds of the natives and their wives and children squatting and standing around to watch the "Owangis" (the name for a white chieftain) eat and talk.

To show his wealth and importance, Tunda brought out all his fifty-nine wives and asked to have the picture taken of himself and his wives in a semicircle, with his wives ranging in order of his favoritism on the right hand and on the left, the ones farthest from him being large, clumsy, heavy-set women, whom he had bought for wives to do field work and to bear children. . . .

On the last night out from Kibombo, I stopped at the house of a very tall, fine-looking Belgian trader, whom I found to be unusually sensible and well-posted, and who greatly appreciated the work of the Mission. He gave me two very fine rhinoceros tusks, which are much finer than elephant tusks, and of such size that they can be used as a mantel ornament. . . .

The trip from Kibombo to Cape Town was full of interest. It followed very largely in the track of Livingstone's last journey, ended at Ujiji, where his faithful helpers found him dead kneeling in prayer. The way went by. . . the Great Victoria Falls, . . . to Bulawayo, the capital of Northern Rhodesia, the Crown Colony which Cecil Rhodes governed and on whose lofty plateau he is buried

When I reached Cape Town [March 17, 1922], I found that arrangements had been made for me to deliver a public address, a luncheon speech, and high-tea talk before taking the steamer at four o'clock. I was met at the train by Bishop Eden Johnson, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, who was dressed in usual episcopal garb, a black suit with long coat. I was dressed in khaki shirt with belted trousers and white helmet, and had almost forgotten that anybody ever wore black or a long coat. I hardly knew what to do about clothes for the speeches that I was to make. I would not have hesitated as far as I was concerned, but I did not want to shock Bishop Johnson or violate the proprieties of the occasion. I was rushed speedily to the hotel while Bishop Johnson went home to get me a coat and vest, so everything went off decently and in order. . . .

On my arrival in London [April 3, 1922], I found almost a mailbag full of papers, letters, and documents of various kinds, and welcomed the opportunity on my trip across the Atlantic to get thoroughly posted before reaching home. At the General Conference of 1922, held in Hot Springs, Arkansas, by request of the Conference, I spoke for forty-five minutes on our work in the Congo, which increased very greatly the interest already felt in the African Mission.

Cuba (1922-1926)

My work in Cuba, from 1922 until 1926, was pleasant, and I would have been glad to return for another quadrennium. From my four years' study of the conditions in Cuba, I believed that the United States government made a great mistake in not giving Cuba the same relation that it gave to Puerto Rico. Had the United States taken control of the affairs of Cuba as it did for Puerto Rico, there would have been peace and quiet throughout the island, instead of the thirty years or more of revolution, strife, and bloodshed. I am satisfied that the missionary work on the island would have progressed more rapidly under stable government, as in every revolution the work of the church is, of necessity, impeded.

After studying the situation, I recognized the feeling on the part of the Cuban preachers that they should have more recognition, so I appointed two of their number to be presiding elders, which positions up to that time had been held entirely by missionaries. Many of the missionaries were not able to live in the Cuban climate and were either transferred back to the American work or over to the Mexican work. Some of the best workers now among the Mexicans were formerly missionaries in Cuba.

Near East Relief

In 1922 the General Conference adopted resolutions proposed by me concerning the persecution of the Christians in the Near East, and appointed a Near East Advisory Committee, of which I was made the chairman. This committee was instructed to take counsel with the National Committee of the Near East Relief as to plans for co-operation. The resolutions declared:

Through the efforts of the Near East Relief, chartered by Act of the United States Congress to represent officially American philanthropy, more than a million lives have been saved and approximately 150,000 orphan children are now being maintained and educated. The Near East Relief has inaugurated plans for re-establishing these people in the homes of which they have been deprived by their persecutors, and for rehabilitating their national life.

This humane work is greatly hindered, however, by the fact that these stricken Christians are still at the mercy of the Turks and are still being robbed and either murdered outright or driven into exile. In fact, because of the continuance of war in the Near East, and the withdrawal from many sections of the protection formerly given by the great powers of Europe, the condition of these unfortunate people is even worse than it was three years ago.

As expressive of its earnestness and intensity of purpose, the General Conference adopted the following final resolution:

That the General Conference memorializes the Government of the United States to take whatever steps may be necessary to stop the persecution which threatens the complete annihilation of the Christians in the Near East and to give them such protection as will enable them to re-establish their desolated homes and support themselves in safety and comfort.

Before sailing for Europe in the summer of 1922, I had an interview with Secretary of State Charles E. Hughes, and presented to the Secretary the memorial adopted by the General Conference. I endeavored to impress Secretary Hughes with the urgency of the need for prompt, definite, and effective action owing to the critical conditions existing, especially in Asiatic Turkey, where the Turks were ruthlessly slaughtering Greeks and Armenians, combatants and noncombatants, children and old people. Secretary Hughes read the resolution and called my attention to what he considered to be the extreme language used, asking what was meant by the words "whatever steps may be necessary." I replied that it meant exactly what it said. "But," said Secretary Hughes, "that could mean war." I replied, "Certainly it could, if the Turks thought the United States government was not in earnest in commanding that they cease committing atrocities; but if war is necessary, the resolutions clearly contemplate war."

When Secretary Hughes expressed surprise that war should be even thought of, I replied, "Our government went to war with Spain because of the persecution of the Cubans and the atrocities practiced by General Weyler. We recently entered a war because of what we held to be German atrocities. In the present case, according to the Bryce report, the Turks have already destroyed over one million Armenians and are now endeavoring to destroy the rest of them because they are Christian people who will not consent to become Moslems even to save their lives." I insisted that the question was not the making of war upon Turkey, but the determination to prevent the massacre of the Christian people of the Near East by the Turks. I called the attention of the Secretary of State to the passage of a similar resolution by a Northern Baptist Convention, of which church the Secretary was a member. I told him I was going to Constantinople and would communicate with him from there.

In September [1922] I went to Constantinople, and endeavored to secure accurate information from reliable sources.⁸ The success of Kemal Pasha in routing the Greek army and driving it in full retreat out of Asia Minor had roused the Turks in Constantinople to the highest pitch of

8. Before going to Constantinople, Cannon attended various temperance meetings in England, Belgium, the Netherlands, Germany, Denmark, and Ireland.

fanaticism. "Christian dogs" were liable to attack at any time they might be caught unprotected. When I went in a car to the home of the Armenian Patriarch with an Armenian chauffeur, and when I drove through the streets of Stamboul to the official residence of the Greek Patriarch, Meletios, I was hooted and jeered at, and the Armenian chauffeur loudly threatened.

Constantinople was under the protection of the British, French, and Italian fleets, and the troops of the three nations patrolled the city. Kemal Pasha demanded the retirement of the foreign troops from Constantinople. To the amazement of the Greeks and Armenians, and probably the Turks themselves, the French and the Italians withdrew their forces. Lloyd George, then Prime Minister of England, be it ever said to his honor, flatly refused to order the withdrawal of the British Navy or Fleet, and Sir Charles Harrington, the British commander, posted a squad of British Tommies in those sections of Constantinople where riot was likely to break out.

The Near East Relief was the only hope of the stricken Christian people. I wrote to the press in America descriptions of the distressing scenes which were witnessed daily: the picture of thousands of orphan children lying asleep on bare floors, with nothing but blankets for cots; of shiploads of children coming in on the ships with no fathers or mothers, since they had all died from hunger, disease, or the sword.

Vague, uncertain reports of the burning of Smyrna and the massacre of the helpless people in cold blood came to Constantinople. I drove to the residence of the Patriarch, Meletios, and found him in great distress. He had just that morning had from a messenger direct from Smyrna a full report of the horrible atrocities which had been committed by the Turks. Chrysostom, the Bishop of Smyrna, had been treacherously invited to the house of the Turkish general, where, upon his arrival, he was turned over to the Turkish troops, his eyes gouged out, his ears cut off, and his body tied to a vicious horse which dragged him over the stones of the streets of Smyrna until there was only a battered, misshapen mass of flesh and bones. The troops were sent into the Armenian Greek quarters of Smyrna, where robbery, rape, and murder went on until the population had been practically exterminated, and fire was set to the Christian quarter to burn up the evidence of horrible deeds.

These things the Patriarch rehearsed to me, and then said, "I shall probably suffer the same fate as my colleague, Chrysostom." And there is no doubt that he would have been murdered, and also the large proportion of Christians at Constantinople, had it not been that the Turks feared to attack the British soldiers, or to begin a massacre while they

were present in the city. To Lloyd George alone belongs the credit of preventing the burning and the massacre at Constantinople.

The horror of the situation was greatly increased, to my mind, by the fact that the Allied ships, including the American Fleet, were at anchor in full sight of Smyrna, and knew the atrocities which were being committed, some of them being performed before their very eyes. I declared that, had the American government cabled to the admiral in charge of the fleet to land a body of American troops and to notify Kemal Pasha that no massacre of the Christians would be tolerated, he would not have dared to attack the American troops, and Smyrna would have been saved.

I sent a cablegram to the Secretary of State [dated September 30, 1922] which was given also to the *New York Times* in which I set forth my indignation and my horror. . . .

To this cablegram the Secretary to State [replied on October 2 that the United States had done all in its power to prevent bloodshed short of resorting to armed force.]

I had already sailed for home before Secretary Hughes's cablegram reached Europe. I did not see it until the day after I landed.⁹ Immediately upon my arrival in New York, I was met by a representative of the Near East Relief and driven to a meeting which had been called to hear a message from me that afternoon. I was taken by surprise, had prepared nothing, had no notes or documents with me, and did not speak with my usual fire and vigor. But the facts that I did present were sufficiently horrible in themselves. The Honorable Henry M. Morgenthau, the former ambassador to Turkey, also spoke on that occasion.

In response to pressing invitations, I went at once to Chicago and spoke at a great mass meeting on Sunday night [October 15, 1922], being introduced by that great Christian banker, James B. Forgan. The address produced a great effect on the audience, which could hardly credit that such atrocities could be practiced without molestation or punishment. . . .

Invitations were so numerous that the Near East Relief arranged for an itinerary, especially at my request, in the cities of the South, as I desired my own people to have the true story from their own representative.

In the year 1926 I went with Mr. Charles V. Vickrey, the General Secretary of Near East Relief, and Mr. Vickrey's secretary, Mr. Smook, throughout the length of Russia, entering from Finland, and coming out

9. Cannon replied to this message in a telegram directed to the Secretary of State in which he insisted that human rights were paramount, and that the United States could have called upon the other powers to join with her in protecting Smyrna (Cannon to Hughes, Oct. 16, 1922, Cannon MSS).

at Batum, on the Black Sea. The securing of a passport was quite a problem. It seemed impossible to get Moscow to act, but finally the Russian consul at Helsingfors granted a temporary passport, good for four days. On that passport there would be sufficient time to reach Moscow, and, if ordered out of the country, to get through to Poland.

St. Petersburg, the once proud capital of Russia, was indeed a scene of desolation. Some of the finest churches and public buildings had been left with little traces of vandalism, but most of the fine buildings had been looted and stripped of everything of value, even the door and window frames having been torn out for firewood. The people themselves were hungry and poorly clad. Misery and despair were written all over the city.

It was a great relief to get away and go on to Moscow, which had become once more the governmental and the real center of the Russian Soviet Republic. The time spent in Moscow was all too short. The Red Square was the center of the city's life. At one side was the tomb of Lenin, in which he lay exposed to public view and received adoration as a great liberator of his people. On the wall near by there was written in large letters, "Religion is the opiate of the people." On the other side of the square loomed the Kremlin, the entrance to which was carefully guarded at that time so that I was not admitted behind the walls. The churches were with few exceptions still untouched and open to public worship. I saw two or three crowded with people devoutly following their ministers in the services of the Greek church.

As there was no call for a passport, we proceeded on our way to the south, going directly to Rostov. Most of the people seemed to be well-fed. Their clothing was of an assorted variety. There was abundance of food at the railroad restaurants, at comparatively moderate prices. There were not very many trains running, and these were crowded to capacity. Unfortunately our party was not large enough to buy all four places in a sleeping compartment, although we offered to do so. At midnight, at some station, a Russian got into the upper berth opposite to where I slept. I did not know that anyone had gotten into the compartment. Before I waked up in the morning, the Russian had gone. While dressing, I discovered that my pocketbook, containing my American railroad passes and some pictures which I highly prized, had been stolen from my vest, which had been hanging near my head. The thief got little of value to himself, but things which were of real value to me.

When we reached Vladikavkaz, we were hung up for some time through failure of the chauffeur (sent from Near East Headquarters at Tiflis) to find us. We had about given him up, and were preparing to hire

quite expensive transportation, when the chauffeur accidentally saw Mr. Vickrey and recognized him from a picture he had seen in the Near East literature.

The drive from Vladikavkaz over the great Georgian military road of the Czar was a revelation to the party. No expense had been spared in the making of the road. We had seen no better road in Europe or in the United States. And the road wound through some of the finest mountain scenery in the world. At times snowy peaks rose high above us, and then we looked from the road on the side of the mountain into the valleys and meadows thousands of feet below. The grading from the crest of the ridge to the valley below was splendidly done, but after the days from St. Petersburg to Tiflis, with their varying experiences, it was a great delight to get to a Near East Relief Headquarters controlled in every detail by good, old-fashioned American Christians.

The main objective of the trip, however, was not Tiflis, but the great Near East Relief orphanage in Armenia, between Tiflis and Erivan, the capital of Armenia. At this orphanage there were seventeen thousand children, of all ages and sizes. It was a full day's work to go through all the buildings and to try to get some idea of the various forms of activities being carried on, in the physical, mental, and spiritual care of these children. On one day of the visit there was a general holiday given up to sports and stunts of various kinds. The children had been thoroughly drilled, and the great numbers taking part in many of the events gave unusual interest. Mr. Williams, one of the most expert of the *National Geographic* camera staff, was staying a few days at the great orphanage, and the pictures he secured of seventeen thousand children in mass activities of various kinds were unusually thrilling and spectacular. . . .

Returning to Tiflis, I was confronted with the necessity of securing a Russian visa to my passport, permitting me to leave Russia. The officials gravely examined the document and informed me very solemnly that I had no right to be in Russia, that the passport allowed me only four days in Russia, and that I had already exceeded that time by ten days. They then considered the question whether, as I had no right to be in Russia, I should not be immediately expelled from Russia. I assured them that that would be a very satisfactory solution, provided that I was allowed to depart in the quickest way possible, via Batum and the Black Sea. They pondered the matter for several hours and then decided that they would fine me one thousand roubles, or at the rate of one hundred roubles per day, for my stay in the country. This fine was imposed, and the visa granted. But when they were informed that the fine would not be paid by me, but by the Near East Relief, and that it would have to be paid

out of funds which were being used to feed the orphan children, residents of Russia, they then remitted the fine, and, with passport in order, the journey was made to Batum.

In Batum the American party witnessed, for the first time, the amazing Cossack custom of both sexes bathing together in public, absolutely nude. We went to the lengthy public bathing beach on the Black Sea, but were there faced with numerous nude men and women, bathing apart or together, lying around on the sand in groups, with no apparent sense of indecent exposure. The Greek representative of Near East Relief at Batum, a man of high standing and character, in discussing the matter with us, said that the best people did not engage in mixed nude bathing, and that the number of illegitimate children among those who did showed that decency frequently ended in immorality.

The trip through the length of the Black Sea to the Bosphorus on a German oil tanker gave proof that there were large bodies of water which the party had never explored before. Many tedious days were spent steaming along the hilly shores of Asiatic Turkey. When at last the time came to pass through the straits and land in Constantinople, a very serious question arose. I had no passport visa from the Turkish government. In fact, the United States had, at that time, no diplomatic relations with Turkey. The infamous treaty of Lausanne, which had been signed by the Allied powers with Turkey, was a base betrayal by the Great Powers of their ally in the war, Christian Armenia.¹⁰ When a similar treaty was negotiated between the United States and Turkey and was presented for ratification in the Senate, it was strongly opposed by a great number of Protestant leaders in the United States, among them being Dr. S. Parkes Cadman, Bishop W. T. Manning, and I. One of my old friends, Senator Claude A. Swanson, was the ranking Democratic member in the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations. I threw all my influence into the scale and most vigorously opposed the ratification of the treaty. When it came to a vote [1923], it was defeated by the very large proportion of Democratic Senators voting against it. The Turkish government was fully aware of my denunciation of its crimes and of my work against the treaty. It was a question, therefore, whether I should run the risk of landing in Constantinople at all, or whether I should transfer in the harbor to the French steamer which was to take me on to Greece.

The leading Turkish Near East liaison man finally assured me that he could get me on shore and back on the other steamer without diffi-

10. By the Treaty of Lausanne (1923), Christian communities in Turkey lost the autonomy that had been granted by the Treaty of Sèvres (1920).

culty. Trusting in that assurance, I landed once more in Constantinople, visited Robert College and the American Woman's College, and once again the great Mosque of St. Sophia. . . .

On my arrival at Athens I called up my friend, Dr. Alivasatos, a professor in theology whom I had met at the Geneva meetings, and arranged for an interview with Archbishop Chrysostom, the Metropolitan of Greece, a very able and cultured man. I obtained from the Archbishop a full and helpful statement of the results which had followed the exchange of the Asia Minor Greeks into Greece proper, a transfer which had greatly increased the productive population of Greece, but which had also developed some difficult immediate problems. The Archbishop, expressing his unmeasured gratitude for American assistance, indicated in what way further assistance could best be rendered. . . .

In my tours of inspection of the Near East Relief work, I visited Syria, Palestine, and Egypt twice. The longest stay was made at Beirut, where the Near East Relief was carrying on some excellent orphanage and rehabilitation work. The refugees from Turkish hate and persecution were so numerous that the housing of them was almost a question of simply a bed rather than a roof, and adequate provision for family life was impossible. One characteristic was outstanding among the Armenian people. It was the determination to live, to maintain themselves as a distinct people, and in addition, the ability to maintain life under the most discouraging, even distressing conditions. The Armenian has had the reputation in the Near East of being more tenacious of life than the Jew, the Greek, or the Syrian, and of having the ability to maintain himself and to accumulate something more than bare maintenance in competition with other races.

During my stay in Beirut I was entertained part of the time in the home of President Bayard Dodge of the American University. President Dodge is one of the twin sons of Cleveland H. Dodge, a great philanthropist, a great Democrat, and a friend of Cleveland and Wilson. The names of his sons show the political faith of the father, one being named Cleveland for the Democratic president, and the other Bayard for the Democratic Secretary of State under Cleveland. President Dodge had come to Beirut as a professor in the university and had married the daughter of Dr. Jessup, the celebrated Presbyterian missionary, president of the Presbyterian college.

I was greatly surprised at the large enrollment and the fine equipment of the university. I spoke twice to the student body, which was representative of all the Near East countries and races; but whereas the former language of the Near East had been French, now the younger

generation gave English the decided preference. Recognizing the cosmopolitan character of my audience, I spoke on the brotherhood of nations, making my address more realistic by scenes which I had witnessed in Geneva at the Assembly of the League of Nations. Having excited the interest of the student body by my first address, I discussed in my second address the brotherhood of man in Christ Jesus as the outstanding personality of the ages, using as my texts, "Quit you like men," and "Behold the man."

From Beirut, in company with thoroughly informed and experienced Near East Relief workers, I made the trip to Damascus, the Sea of Galilee, Nazareth, through the plain of Esdraelon and the backbone ridge of the country, and on to Jerusalem. . . .

Some of the new Jewish colonies were passed on the way to Jerusalem and did not seem to be in a very thriving condition. I talked with some Jews who had been in America and learned from them that many of the colonists were too old to work and others knew nothing whatever about anything but purely clerical labor, and the colony was being kept alive at that time by relief money sent from the Jewish Palestine fund. On the way to Jerusalem and in Jerusalem, there was a great difference. The Germans were gone and the dream of German dominance of Palestine had vanished. Also the rule of the Turk was over, and the British Governor General, himself a Jew, and British troops maintained order in the country. There was great disquiet among the Arab and Moslem population generally. They felt that they were being squeezed out of the country by the large number of colonists; even those who had sold their land at a high price were among the discontented. It was evident that if the policy of continued colonization were carried out, the Jews would in time occupy practically all the country and greatly outnumber the Moslems, but the question must be settled: Where will the Moslems go?

I have visited Jerusalem five times, and while there have been hours of special enjoyment on every visit, yet on the whole each visit was somewhat of a disappointment. On the Mount of Olives in Gethsemane and at the Garden Tomb it has been possible to envision the compassionate, suffering, and risen Lord, but in the city and at Bethlehem the spirit of commercialism and of exploitation for money has been so strong and evident even in the so-called "most holy places," that there has been not pleasure, but rather disgust in visiting them. . . .

Unification

From the experience of my boyhood and youth I had firsthand in-

formation as to the reasons for the divisions of Episcopal Methodism in the border states. I knew that circumstances arose in many cases where it was practically impossible for men and women with differing political views to live peaceably together, or to work effectively together, and where it was better for them to try to carry on and develop their spiritual activities apart from each other than not to develop the work at all. My college days at Princeton had brought me more closely into contact with ministers and members of the Methodist Episcopal Church than ever before, and I attended some of their conferences during those years. I found the Northern Methodist brethren to be quite friendly in personal relations, but still inclined to pass resolutions and to propose Home Mission activities in the Southern States, which were not helpful to fraternal relations.¹¹

. . . From the beginning of my ministry, I had made a very close study of the relations existing between the Methodist Episcopal Church and the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. I was fully committed not only in my feeling, but in my thinking to the position of the Southern Church. I always thought that the General Conference of 1844 took the wise and brotherly course, and I admired the spirit of both sides in the controversy, although entirely disagreeing with the arguments of the Northern delegates. When the Northern Methodist General Conference flatly repudiated the solemn agreements made in 1844 and began what I thought to be an unwarranted and unbrotherly attack upon the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, I condemned this violation of the obligation solemnly entered into, and approved of the conduct of the Southern Church at its succeeding General Conferences.¹²

The action of one or two overzealous, fanatical Northern bishops in trying to take control of Southern Methodist churches by military force during the Civil War was so utterly abhorrent, not only to justice, but to common sense, that such a policy was speedily abandoned. The spending of large sums of money to establish Northern Methodist churches throughout the South I thought to be not only unbrotherly, but really sinful. While there were a few groups in certain sections of the South which could be better ministered to by Northern Methodist preachers,

11. The next three paragraphs have been transferred from the manuscript chapter on "General Church Activities."

12. At the General Conference of 1844, a committee of nine reported that since the Methodist Episcopal Churches of the Southern slave-holding states had determined to unite separately, "ministers of the Methodist Episcopal Church shall in no wise attempt to organize churches or societies within the limits of the Church, South, nor shall they attempt to exercise any pastoral oversight therein" (*Journal of General Conference, Methodist Episcopal Church, 1844*, pp. 135-137).

these groups were not large, and unless missionary and church extension funds had been expended there would have been very few churches in the deep South with bona fide Northern Methodist membership.

In the border states of Maryland, West Virginia, Kentucky, and Missouri, conditions were very different. Immediately following the Civil War, there were communities like my home town, Salisbury, Maryland, where political and sectional feelings ran so high that two churches seemed inevitable. But as population changed, and as a new generation grew up which had no personal knowledge of the days before the war, or of the war itself, the need for two churches in the same community diminished steadily, and, on the other hand, the demand for united Methodism steadily grew in strength. Nevertheless, the existence of two separate organizations, with different leadership and headquarters, frequently caused much friction and regrettable misunderstandings. The waste of men and money greatly needed for work elsewhere was confessed with shame by many broadminded leaders, but it seemed impossible to work out any plan for a genuine settlement. . . .

From the beginning of my ministry I had read the *New York Christian Advocate* as regularly as the *Advocates* of my own Church, and I was not only interested in the work, but I admired the spirit of progressive activity in the Methodist Episcopal Church. I attended their General Conferences almost as regularly as I did my own. I studied their problems and their policies, and heartily approved, and as heartily disapproved, of some actions taken by their General Conferences when such actions were the result very largely of provincialism, or sheer ignorance of conditions in the South. At the Northern Methodist Conference in Los Angeles in 1904, thanks to the friendship of Dr. James M. Buckley, editor of the *New York Christian Advocate*,¹³ I had a seat at the front from which both the platform and the floor of the General Conference were in full view. I had been acquainted with Dr. Buckley before the Southern Methodist General Conference of 1902, but after the reading of the minority report at the Conference, Dr. Buckley wrote me, warmly commending the position of the minority on the war claim in the General Conference of 1902, and inviting me to call and see him whenever I came to New York.

The Los Angeles Methodist General Conference of 1904 was outstanding in some respects. Dr. L. W. Munhall,¹⁴ a prominent local preacher

13. James Monroe Buckley (1836-1920) was editor of the *New York Christian Advocate* (1880-1912) and author of *The Wrong and Peril of Woman Suffrage* (1909) and *The Constitutional and Parliamentary History of the Methodist Episcopal Church* (1912).

14. Leander Whitcomb Munhall (1843-1934) was an evangelist who averaged two

of Philadelphia, the editor of an independent Methodist paper which had considerable circulation in that section of the church, along with others like-minded, had brought charges of dangerous, modernistic, un-Methodist teaching against the presidents and teachers of some of the leading Northern Methodist institutions. The hearings before the special committee appointed to investigate the matter were very interesting. They involved very much the same questions as those which were analyzed and discussed by Dr. James McCosh and Dr. William Henry Green when I was a student at Princeton. In those days I reached the personal conviction and belief that Christianity was a supernatural revelation from God; that Jesus Christ "was born of the Virgin Mary, suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead and buried, and the third day He arose again from the dead," that He is indeed our Divine Lord and Saviour; that if Christ is not risen from the dead, then is our faith vain, our hope is also vain, and we are yet in our sins, and Christianity is nothing but a delusion and a snare.

The men accused by Dr. Munhall, notably Dr. Charles J. Little and Professor M. S. Terry of Northwestern University, and Dr. James R. Day, president of Syracuse University, asserted most positively their belief in the supernatural origin of Christianity, and in the resurrection of Jesus Christ. The special committee was satisfied with the declarations of faith made by the accused teachers, and the report of the committee was adopted by the General Conference. While there were some sharp criticisms of Dr. Munhall, I did not regret that the investigation had been made, and that the men accused of subversive teaching had made their position clear, thereby strengthening the faith of the Church in its institutions of learning . . . ¹⁵

My association with the leadership of the Northern Methodist Church at Los Angeles in 1904 caused me to think more seriously of the value and of the possibility of Methodist union. In 1906, at our General Conference in Birmingham, Dr. Thomas H. Lewis, president of Western Maryland College and president of the Methodist Protestant General Conference, made a notable address on Methodist union; indeed I am

sermons a day for more than fifty years to an estimated seventeen million people. He edited the *Methodist* and was the author of several books including *The Highest Critics vs. the Higher Critics* (1896).

15. Cannon felt rather strongly on this subject. On one occasion, Dr. S. G. Bland, Canadian theologian, delivered a series of lectures at Lake Junaluska. According to Cannon, he took "the extreme higher critical viewpoint." When a bouquet of flowers and "resolutions of thanks" were presented to Bland, Cannon, according to his own words, "arose in the audience and entered positive protest against those portions of Dr. Bland's addresses which had challenged the authority of the Scriptures and the knowledge of Christ and of Paul."

inclined to think it was the strongest appeal I have ever heard, considering the time of the utterance (1906) and the conditions under which the address was made. It produced a great impression upon the General Conference and greatly forwarded the sentiment for union. Practically the same address was delivered by Dr. Lewis at the Northern Methodist General Conference in Baltimore in 1908, at which time, however, the fraternal messenger from our Church, Dr. Collins Denny, made an address which somewhat lessened the effect of Dr. Lewis's appeal.

In 1910, however, a commission was appointed to consider the question of closer federation between the Methodist Churches, and this commission worked on during that quadrennium and in 1914 brought in a report of progress, which was fully discussed both in committee and on the floor of the General Conference. I took an active part in the discussion, and proposed an amendment. . . .

After this amendment had been adopted, the report as a whole was adopted appointing a commission to negotiate with a like commission of the Methodist Episcopal Church. As the chairman of the delegation of the largest conference in the connection, and a border Conference at that, as having taken part in the discussion, and having proposed the amendment which secured the adoption of the report, it was naturally to be expected that I would be appointed a member of the commission, but for some reason best known to themselves "the powers that were" did not care to have me on the commission, and I was not appointed. This, however, did not in any way affect my attitude on the question of unification.

In the spring of 1910 my father died at my home at Blackstone, and before his death he said to me:

"My son, you are fully acquainted with the history of the division of the churches at Salisbury, the reasons which caused that division, and which I fully believe enabled Methodism to render a larger and more efficient service to the community. That time, however, has passed. I do not think that the two Methodist Churches in Salisbury should unite, but I do think the time has come for the union of Methodism throughout the country. Judging by conditions as they now exist, if you live long enough, I expect you will be in a position to further the cause of union, and I hope that you will do so."

As I have indicated in another chapter of this book, I had the highest respect not only for my father's Christian character, but for his breadth of thought and vision, and after his death I studied the question of union more carefully than ever before.

So by the time of the General Conference of 1914 I had reached the point that I was convinced that some kind of federation was not only possible, but desirable. I talked the matter over very fully with my good friend, Dr. James M. Buckley, who was then in the last years of his leadership of the Northern Methodist Church. We agreed personally that organic union was a goal to be desired, but that it could not be pressed as long as it would produce more friction in the membership of the two churches than it would allay. We never at any time believed that organic union forced by a majority on a considerable unwilling minority was desirable. On the contrary we agreed that no union was desirable which was not satisfactory to the great body of the two Churches, especially to the border Conferences where the Churches had been in competition, sometimes in conflict, for over sixty years. To attempt to force organic union of a kind that the border Conferences did not approve would result in a loss of members of both churches, either to the Presbyterian, Episcopalian, or some other denomination, or to the establishment of independent Methodist churches.

In all my talks with Northern Methodists, in all my speeches on the Conference floor, and in my editorials in the *Richmond Advocate*, and articles contributed to other Church papers, I stated very positively that the greatest difficulty in the way was the relation of the colored membership of the Methodist Episcopal Church. I pointed out that the Northern Methodists' position was thoroughly illogical, although probably not to be called insincere, but simply expedient. I emphasized that up to that time the Methodist Episcopal Church had elected no Negro bishops, that the Negro congregations were in separate Negro Conferences, except in a very few places, and that all the Negro ministers, with few exceptions, were in Conferences with no white members. I therefore favored the adoption of a resolution calling for the union of the various colored Methodist churches in America, including in that union the colored members of the Northern Methodist Church. In the event that all the Negro Methodist bodies did not unite to form one Church, I insisted that organic union was feasible and desirable, provided the relationship between the white and colored ministers and members as they actually existed in the Northern Methodist Church should be fixed by legislation for the united Church. I held that the actual practice in the Northern Methodist Church afforded no logical ground for objection on the part of that Church to such legislation as part of the Plan of Unification.

The commission appointed at Oklahoma City in 1914 did not secure satisfactory results. In the meanwhile my editorials in the *Richmond Advocate* and contributed articles had been so widely read that when the

General Conference met in Atlanta in 1918 I was elected by the vote of practically all of those really desiring unification to be chairman of the Commission on Church Relations. After full discussion I framed resolutions which commanded the support of a large majority of the committee. . . and the majority report was adopted with practical unanimity [by the General Conference in 1918], some of the Mississippi delegates still opposing it.¹⁶

Having been elected to the episcopacy, I was appointed as one of the five bishops on the new Commission on Unification, and, as the author of the resolutions under which the commission was constituted and working, I was probably more active in debate and committee work to secure a suitable plan than any other member of the Southern Commission, except Bishop Collins Denny, who was very active in his opposition to the plan proposed.

The joint commission appointed a subcommittee of ten, five from each Church, to work out the draft of a plan to be submitted to the full commission. Of this committee of ten, Bishop Edgar Blake¹⁷ and I were cochairmen. We held a meeting at the Jefferson Hotel in Richmond and prepared a plan which was submitted to the joint commission, by which it was adopted The report of the proceedings of the joint commission shows that . . . the discussion turned very largely upon the relationship of the Negroes to the united Church.

When the report as approved by the joint commission was presented to the Northern Methodist Conference at Des Moines in 1920, it was there referred to a very large committee, which, after discussing it nearly the entire time of the General Conference, failed to present the report squarely before the General Conference, but brought in recommendations calling for a large convention of the two Churches. This failure of the Northern Methodist General Conference to take affirmative action on the plan, proposing to substitute for direct action the consideration of the matter by a large convention of the two Churches, brought to an end the work of the joint commission as then constituted.

The same Northern Methodist General Conference decided to elect two colored ministers to the episcopacy. It was recognized that it would

16. The majority report recommended "the continuance of a commission to act in conjunction with the Commission of the Methodist Episcopal Church," and "that they make a practical advance toward" unification "by closer co-operation in their various activities." There was a minority report supported by Bishop John S. Candler, but Cannon succeeded in answering the objections so well that Candler withdrew the minority report.

17. Edgar Blake (1869-1943), New Hampshire pastor, was active in Sunday School work and elected bishop in 1920.

be impossible to secure such election without the adoption of a special rule calling for the election of two Negro bishops entirely apart from the balloting for white bishops. It was understood that, if such a regulation was not adopted, no colored man would be elected.

So two Negro bishops were elected by the Northern General Conference of 1920. When assignments were made for episcopal supervision, the colored bishops were given only colored Conferences, although some of the colored Conferences were put under the supervision of white bishops as heretofore. Although these colored bishops were in office for nineteen years before the Plan of Unification was finally adopted, never were they given supervision over any white Conference. While I no longer had editorial control of any paper, I did not fail to emphasize this continuation by the Northern Methodist General Conference of the actual drawing of the color line. While I considered it to be the wise plan for the Northern Methodist Church in the carrying on of its work—indeed, the necessary course to be followed—yet I declared that it emphasized even more strongly the position of the Southern Methodist Church that this sensible recognition of racial differences must become a part of any plan of Methodist unification.

Notwithstanding the action of the Northern Methodist General Conference in 1920, at our General Conference at Memphis in 1922 I earnestly advocated the continuation of negotiations by the appointment of a new commission to confer with a like commission of the Northern Church. . . .

I was again appointed as one of the Southern bishops on the Joint Unification Commission. After several meetings this commission wrought out a plan which was adopted by a vote of the Northern Methodist commissioners . . . and of the Southern Methodist commissioners by a vote of 19 to 6. It was submitted first to the General Conference of the Northern Church, meeting in Springfield, Massachusetts, in May 1924, and received an overwhelming majority of that General Conference.¹⁸

In accordance with the action taken by our General Conference at Hot Springs in 1922, the College of Bishops of our Church met, and

18. This plan called for a united church with two "Jurisdictions" which would coincide with the accepted jurisdictions of the Methodist Episcopal Church and the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. Each vote in the General Conference of the united church was to "require the accepted majority vote of each Jurisdiction to be effective." A bishop could be "assigned to administer in any part of the Church, provided that when he is assigned to administer within the jurisdiction other than that by which he was elected, it shall be with the consent of the majority of the Bishops of the Jurisdiction involved." The commission, furthermore, recommended "that financial support of the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church be continued by the Jurisdiction with which it is historically related . . ." (Report of the Joint Commission printed in the *Daily Christian Advocate* [Methodist Episcopal Church], May 6, 1924, pp. 122 ff.).

after an extended discussion, called a special session of the General Conference to be held at Chattanooga, Tennessee, on July 2, 1924. This call was signed by nine of the bishops.

Five of the bishops registered their opposition to the call, criticizing in unusually severe terms the action of the majority of the college.¹⁹ When the time for the meeting of the General Conference on July 2 at Chattanooga came, I was in New York at the Democratic National Convention, acting as chairman of the National Legislative Committee of the Anti-Saloon League of America, and as chairman of the Commission on Temperance and Social Service of our Church, working to prevent the adoption of a wet plank, or the nomination of a wet candidate, by the Democratic party. I left the convention at a very critical time, however, to go to Chattanooga. I expressed to my colleagues my positive conviction that the College of Bishops should not make any statement of any kind to the General Conference, except to transmit the report of the commission, reciting the action of the General Conference at Hot Springs in 1922, by authority of which this special session at Chattanooga had been called.

It was the understanding on the part of the majority of the bishops that no statement would be made by any of them, but Bishop Collins Denny, one of the minority, read a very lengthy paper, which was in fact an argument against the Plan of Unification, and which was, of course, quite provocative of reply. But notwithstanding that I recognized very fully that the majority group of the bishops had the right to make reply, I opposed the injection of any of the bishops into the debate. After two days of earnest speeches, in which the legality of the call and the proposed plan were both fully discussed, the General Conference voted 188 to 102 in favor of the Plan of Unification. This vote was largely in excess of the required two-thirds majority. The plan was ordered to be sent down to the Annual Conferences of 1925 for the vote of the ministers and laymen of the several Annual Conferences.

As the plan had been approved by the General Conferences of both Churches, it was the general expectation that it would be approved by the Annual Conferences. There was little doubt that it would be approved by the Annual Conferences of the Northern Methodist Church, as no active, outstanding leadership had developed against it. But in our Southern Church the situation was quite different. By far the ablest and

19. The bishops who opposed were Warren A. Candler, Collins Denny, U. V. W. Darlington, and J. E. Dickey (*Richmond Christian Advocate*, May 30, 1924). Bishop Ainsworth had also disagreed with some aspects of the Unification Plan (James Cannon, "Shall We Unite," June 30, 1924, Cannon MSS).

most influential opponent of the plan was Bishop Warren A. Candler. He was the recognized leader of the anti-unificationists, and made a vigorous attack, not simply upon the plan itself, but upon certain conditions which he claimed existed in the Northern Methodist Church which made any real union between the two Churches impossible. He emphasized the views and practices of the Northern Methodist Church in the matter of race relations, and especially what he claimed were the extreme modernistic tendencies and beliefs of a large number of the preachers and teachers of that Church.

While I was absent in Europe and the Near East in the summer of 1924 our commission met and appointed a small committee, with Bishop Edwin D. Mouzon as chairman, to conserve and develop the unification sentiment in our own Church. I was not present at the meeting. If I had been there, I would have taken the same position I took in reference to the participation of the bishops in the discussions at the Chattanooga Conference. I knew that Bishop Candler was not only one of the ablest men in the Church, but that he was unusually strong in discussion and controversy, and that his articles would command a wide reading. I thought the wiser plan would be to let him state his position and make his attack, and, except where persons were involved, to enter into no discussion with him. But Bishop Mouzon did not hold that view, and thought he should make reply to Bishop Candler's articles. He was not, however, temperamentally suited to carry on a discussion with Bishop Candler. He was high-strung and, like a spirited horse, when Bishop Candler coolly and systematically tapped him smartly on the flanks, he was incited to reply with considerable warmth.

Very soon an exceedingly sharp discussion developed, which was not confined to the Plan of Unification, but personalities became involved so that shortly, in the minds of many, the matter of the approval or the rejection of the plan became inextricably involved in the approval or disapproval of the arguments and statements made by different persons. Indeed by December, 1924, personal issues began to loom much larger than did the question of unification.

I received a letter about that time from one of my closest ministerial friends, stating very frankly that he had been with me and worked with me and fought with me ever since we had joined the Conference, but that in the present situation his sympathies and his affection were with the "old man" (Candler), and that he thought he would vote against the plan, largely, he confessed, on personal grounds.

At the meeting of the Federal Council of Churches in Atlanta in December, 1924, a number of the leading unification leaders came to me

and expressed their distress at the turn which the discussion had taken and their great fear that the plan would be defeated by a good majority. I could but agree that the situation was exceedingly unsatisfactory, and I feared that they were right. They then stated that they wished me to agree to become the chairman of a special campaign committee, to have charge of the unification side until the Annual Conferences had voted. I fully recognized what had happened, and what had caused the growth of the opposition to the adoption of the plan. But I declined to give an answer at that time, stating that I would give an answer after full consideration at Nashville two weeks later, when there was to be a meeting of representative church leaders on another matter.

At the Nashville meeting the matter was discussed from various angles with unusual frankness. I stated to the group gathered in that conference that I greatly deplored the trend of affairs, and I realized that the methods which had been followed had greatly influenced many persons to vote against the plan, who had formerly been undecided, or even inclined to vote for unification. I said that, after a very careful canvass and checkup of the situation throughout the Church, I did not think it was possible to secure the constitutional majority of three-fourths, but that I believed that if from that time on certain methods were followed a simple majority for the plan could be secured, especially of the ministerial voters. I agreed that I would act as chairman of a campaign committee on two conditions: first, that I should have full authority in the conduct of the campaign, that I should be responsible for whatever printed matter, circulars, pamphlets, newspaper articles, etc., were issued as representing unification leadership; that, of course, I did not mean that I would ask or expect to control the columns of the Church press, or to insist that all articles for the adoption of the plan should be submitted to me, but that everything which emanated from the recognized advocates of unification should first be sent to me for my consideration before publication, and that it would not be published if I objected. The second condition was that I should have nothing to do with the raising of money, but that whatever legitimate expense was incurred in carrying on the work should be raised by a finance committee.

After frank discussion concerning both conditions, in which discussion I made it perfectly clear that I would not assume the responsibility and the burden of the advocacy of a cause which I knew was already defeated unless my conditions were agreed to and carried out, the group voted to accept my conditions, and I agreed to give all the time possible from my other work to the unification campaign. Bishop Mouzon was especially disturbed at my first condition, and we had a very free and full

discussion. He inquired definitely, with some personal feeling, whether I really meant that he could not write any articles for the Church press without submitting them to me before publication. I told him that I did mean exactly that, and that I would not think of taking on the heavy work involved in the campaign, unless my position of direction and control was recognized by him and all other members of the commission who favored unification. He was apparently much dissatisfied, but the sentiment of the group had been so unanimous in its agreement with me that he reluctantly consented.

I regret to state, however, that, while my relations with Bishop Mouzon had never been intimate, as I had never been thrown with him closely in my work except in the meetings of the general boards, from that time on I sensed a decided coolness in his attitude toward me. It was a matter for which I was not in any way responsible, and was not of my making. We were temperamentally almost at the opposite extremes, and probably neither one could appreciate the other at his full value.

As indicated above, it was with much hesitation that I assumed this responsibility of leadership for the adoption of the plan. I was satisfied in January, 1925, that, if called upon to vote at that time, a majority of the voters in the Annual Conferences would vote against it. I had no hope whatever that the requisite three-fourths' majority could be secured, but I thought the plan was a good one, and I did want it to secure at least a simple majority in our Church, and with that definite purpose I agreed to accept a heavy, and, in a measure, a somewhat thankless task. At that time the bishops who were opposed to the plan had the supervision over the larger home Conferences in the Church, while some of the most active advocates of the plan had smaller home or mission Conferences, I myself having the Mexican Conferences and Cuba, all of which together had not over six votes.

The first Annual Conference to vote on the plan was Baltimore. I attended the Conference, which was presided over by Bishop Candler. Probably the ablest and most active advocate of the plan in the Baltimore Conference, Dr. John H. Light, had died during the Conference year. Bishop Denny, who had been a member of the Baltimore Conference until his election as bishop, was strongly opposed to the plan, and had a large following in the Conference.

Bishop Candler presided and wielded great influence in the final result. His ruling in connection with the method of voting by the Conference in my judgment largely affected the result. The Conference decided after discussion that the vote on unification should be taken by ballot. Greatly to my amazement, Bishop Candler ruled that if one-fifth

of the members demanded a roll call it was their constitutional right to have the vote taken that way. The vote was taken and the plan defeated. . . .

Notwithstanding the later action of the College of Bishops in reversing Bishop Candler's ruling at the Baltimore Conference, the effect of the negative vote of that border Conference was very great, and was, in my judgment, one of the deciding factors in the vote of the other Annual Conferences.

That summer, before going to Europe, I prepared and issued in pamphlet form a somewhat lengthy statement on "The Present Status of Methodist Unification." This statement took up in detail the historical development of the unification movement, my own personal experiences in a border town and as a prohibition speaker and worker in the Northern Methodist Church territory, the objections to the plan on the ground of incompatibility of education and ideas, on the ground of diverse, almost contradictory, views on race relations, on the grounds of modernism, and differing views on evangelism, and emphasized the positive reasons for unification.

From the letters which came to our office I believe that the statement was instrumental in securing that for which I had been working—an actual majority for the plan. When the vote was finally tabulated, there was a majority of 420 clerical votes in favor of the Plan of Unification.

I greatly appreciated a letter from Bishop Luther B. Wilson, a native of Baltimore, and a lifelong member of the [Methodist Episcopal] Baltimore Conference, who like myself had been brought up on the border, and who knew all about the competition and strife and the need for a final settlement. He wrote: "Your final pamphlet was the fairest, fullest presentation of the real facts that I have ever read and both Churches owe you a great debt of gratitude for writing it, even though your Church fails to adopt the plan. . . ."

After the failure of the Southern Church to give the constitutional three-fourths' majority for the proposed plan, the General Conference of 1926 decided that it would not continue the Commission on Unification at that time, but appointed instead a Committee on Fraternal Relations, and did not appoint another commission until the General Conference of 1934, when it appointed a Commission on Interdenominational Relations and Church Union, composed of five bishops, ten other ministers, and ten laymen, to confer with a like commission of the Methodist Episcopal Church and of the Methodist Protestant Church. During those eight years I continued to emphasize my belief that the unification of the three Methodisms was both desirable and feasible.

World-wide Church Work (1920-1927)

My great interest in the world-wide work of the church led me to study every movement or organization whose aim was to try to accomplish something by united effort which could not be done separately. I attended, therefore, the meeting held in Carnegie Hall in 1905 at which the first steps were taken to organize the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America. I have attended every meeting of the Federal Council from its organization. Since 1916 I have been a representative of my Church in the Federal Council, and was a member of the former executive committee and of the administrative committee from the time of its organization until it was abolished and the new executive committee given its functions. I always attended the meetings of the administrative committee unless providentially hindered. I traveled time and again from Birmingham to New York and back, to be there for the one day of the committee meeting.

In the year 1920 I was brought in contact with many of the most prominent European church leaders at the meeting at Geneva at which time continuation committees were created for both the Faith and Order Movement and the Life and Work Movement, of both which committees I was made a member. The meeting at the Beaujour Hotel in Geneva was memorable because of the meeting for the first time after World War I of representatives of the French and German religious leaders. It was still difficult for them to speak peaceably one with another, and they could not take the floor without emphasizing their grievances against each other.

When matters were somewhat at fever heat, I spoke, calling attention to the fact the representatives of the Northern and the Southern Methodist Churches were both present at the meeting and were in most delightful fraternal relations. But, I said, that was not so when the Civil War in America ended. The Northern Methodists thought the Southern Methodists were wrong, and the Southern Methodists knew the Northern Methodists were wrong, and their relations were very unhappy. While time had probably not changed their convictions as to the rightness or wrongness of what had happened nearly sixty years ago, they had learned to agree that they had "One Lord, One Faith, One Baptism, One God, the Father of all." While the French and German brethren were now inclined to emphasize their grievances, why not agree to be one in Christ Jesus now instead of waiting forty years? The Conference ended with a much better spirit among the foreign delegates than when it began.

I had been appointed by the Administrative Committee to be a representative of the Federal Council at the tercentenary celebration of the sailing of the Pilgrim Fathers from Leyden, Holland, and later from Plymouth, England, in 1620. With my oldest daughter, Lura Lee, I attended both celebrations. The plans for the Leyden celebration were exceedingly well-wrought and were carried through in a most admirable way. Foreign delegates were entertained by the leading citizens of Leyden, and my daughter and I had a most delightful visit for a week in the home of a high-class Dutch family. . . .

I attended the first meeting of the League of Nations Assembly [1920] and was greatly thrilled to see representatives of the fifty nations of the world gathered together in common council. I felt very keenly the absence of the United States from the Assembly. I have always felt that Senator Henry Cabot Lodge and his followers must meet an awful responsibility at the bar of history for keeping out of the Council of the nations of the world the one great nation which could have exerted such tremendous influence in securing and in preserving the peace of the world, and in the promotion of world-wide industrial, social, and moral movements.

I believed this attempted isolation was a selfish shirking of obligation and a futile effort at isolation in a world which is necessarily tied together economically, socially, and religiously. I believed that the attempted isolation of a nation, its refusal to join in a great effort of other nations to solve world-wide problems which necessarily affected all nations, was as foolish and as selfish as the attempt of individuals in a community, state, or nation to set themselves apart in a select, privileged class, as though they could really exist without any contacts with the other people about them. I believed that the British Empire, including her colonies—Canada, South Africa, Australia, and India—with the United States at her side, would have been such a powerful combination united in general purposes that it could have dominated the thought and action of the entire Assembly.

I made friends with some of the League of Nations officials and for thirteen years was present at the opening session of the Assembly, becoming acquainted with the representatives of many of the nations, especially in the effort which was put forward to include a thorough study of the alcohol problem on the agenda of the Assembly. I greatly regretted that the Assembly of the League failed to apply sanctions against Japan in its unwarranted spoliation of China. I regretted even more the half-hearted, ineffective sanctions which it invoked against Italy in its cruel, unjustifiable war against Abyssinia. I felt satisfied that if the

United States had been a member of the League, both Japan and Italy could and would have been restrained in carrying out their violations of the rights of weaker nations.

In January, 1920, the Board of Missions held a called meeting at McKendree Church, Nashville, at which, after a presentation of the great needs of several of the European countries, the following resolution was adopted:

Resolved, that the deputation to Europe be and are hereby urged to give special study in their visit at this time to the question of the relative extent of relief work, temporary co-operative work, and direct and permanent Missionary work which we should undertake . . . in these various European countries.

Following out this resolution, I sailed for Europe and there, in company with Dr. D. A. Sloan, at that time treasurer of the Belgian Mission, and Dr. R. Hercod, I visited several nations of Central Europe to do the work assigned me by the Board of Missions, and also in connection with the work of the Permanent Committee of the International League against Alcoholism.²⁰ Dr. Hercod, who for many years has been the outstanding temperance leader on the continent of Europe, and who speaks fluently all the languages of Central Europe as well as Italian, French, and English, was an invaluable aid. The principal investigations for the Board of Missions were made in Poland and Czechoslovakia, going as far south as Teschen and Cracow, as far east as Warsaw and Vilna, and as far north as Danzig and Holland.

The situation in Poland was pitiable, indeed desolate. Cold, hunger, and disease were bringing death to thousands of the population, including a large proportion of children. The United States Relief Administration, under the direction of Mr. Herbert Hoover, was carrying on a great lifesaving enterprise. He could not begin, however, to give full rations to all the needy people. The Relief Administration did furnish every day in Warsaw a quart of strong, nourishing soup for which the people came at stated hours, each person once daily. I stood one day at the distribution center and saw the lines coming from four different streets to secure the daily lifesaver.

I realized that the amount appropriated by the Board of Missions was not sufficient to set up an organization, and after consultation with the Hoover officials, I arranged to pay a certain amount for the distribution of food, especially to children. I also arranged for the support of a very important hospital work, which was about to be closed and the staff

20. See pp. 284-285, 292-293.

dismissed for lack of funds to continue the work. I was much distressed at my inability to respond to the appeals for help which poured in upon me as soon as it was known that I was doing relief work.

As soon as I presented my papers to the American Ambassador, I was provided with comfortable quarters and given every possible assistance. I had several conversations with Marshal Pilsudski, who, while a Roman Catholic, yet was very liberal in his views. He expressed to me the great thanks of the Polish government for the relief which I was bringing in the name of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. I was greatly impressed by the rugged honesty, the exceeding simplicity, and the native ability of Pilsudski. His genuine, unselfish patriotism, his unfaltering courage, his personal, sacrificial labor, had been shown by his record. Personal contact emphasized that he had been raised up to be the deliverer and founder of the New Poland. Pilsudski himself would never have agreed to any persecution of our people in Poland, but the Roman Catholic hierarchy and the priesthood generally look upon Poland as the property of the Romish Church and endeavor to ignore as far as possible the provisions for religious liberty and freedom of worship contained in the Constitution of Poland, which is her charter of existence among the Allied Powers.

From Warsaw the route was to Prague. Here there was general relief work being done by several agencies, but the great need was by no means met. The question of how to do the most good with a limited amount of money was difficult to determine. The leaders of the various Protestant bodies in Prague were called together in conference and an effort made to get from them a statement of their knowledge of the situation. Major Gethmann, of the Y.M.C.A., and Miss Crawford, of the Y.W.C.A., were themselves carrying on very important lines of relief work. They were well informed and prudent in counsel. The American Minister, Mr. Richard Crane, and his wife took great interest in the formulation of my plans, and attended the English service on the day when I preached to a large congregation. Enthusiasm concerning the United States had been great in Poland, but in Czechoslovakia it was manifested on every hand. It was especially evident in their admiration for President Wilson, for whom a monument was erected facing one of the principal railroad stations, which was named the Wilson Station.

The most important contact I made in Czechoslovakia was with President Masaryk and his family and with the then Prime Minister, Edouard Beneš. At the time President Masaryk, with his family, was out of the city at a place about sixty miles from Prague. Prime Minister Beneš arranged for a conference with the President, and he himself

drove Dr. Sloan, Dr. Hercod, and me to the President's home. President Masaryk had lived for several years in the United States and had married a Brooklyn lady, thus making his family half-American.

I told him that I was thinking of using the money which would be available from the church appropriation to meet two specific needs which would not be met by general relief funds. In the first place, a very large number of students had come from the Balkan states and from Czechoslovakia to the University of Prague, hoping in some way to get sufficient support to carry them through the university course. Investigation had shown that a large percentage of the student body was not getting more than one meal a day, and their physical condition was deteriorating very dangerously. I proposed to put into the hands of the university authorities sufficient funds to furnish necessary food up to the limit of two thousand students for one year. I will never forget the enthusiasm of the students when the announcement was made.

I had also found that while the relief organization had been furnishing food and clothing to the masses of the people, the Protestant pastors and their wives and children had had practically no new clothes of any kind since the beginning of the war. I proposed to furnish each pastor with a new suit of clothes [and to provide] new clothes, including underclothing, for their families. After these two needs were met, I proposed to arrange with the relief administration to furnish food to as many needy families as possible.

President Masaryk heartily approved of the kind of relief proposed. The day was delightfully spent in a discussion of the new life which had opened to the Czech people, and later of plans for the International Conference against Alcoholism. President Masaryk and Prime Minister Beneš were both total abstainers and were greatly pleased at the adoption of the Eighteenth Amendment by the United States, and promised their official support to the work of the Congress on Alcoholism. . . .

When our party had reached the border of Holland, the Dutch officers raised such objections to our passports that it seemed that we would be obliged to remain at the border for two or three days. This did not suit our plans. Dr. Hercod and I asked that [the official] call up Baron Ruys de Beerenbrouck, the Prime Minister of Holland, over long-distance. The official rather stoutly demurred, but we as stoutly insisted; so the call was made. To the amazement of the official, after I had explained to the Prime Minister our difficulty about passports and our necessity to press forward on our journey to see him at The Hague the next day, he personally directed the official to pass us through on the first train. This was done, and we had our interview with the Prime Minister the following morning

with reference to his participation in the Congress against Alcoholism, of which he was the vice-president. I had met him several times before at meetings of this congress.

The interview with M. Vandervelde, the Socialist Prime Minister of Belgium, was exceedingly pleasant. The memory of the feeding of the Belgians during the war by America was still very fresh in the minds of Belgian people, especially of a man of broad sympathies and liberal views like the Prime Minister. He had been brought into contact with American missionaries several years before when he went to the Belgian Congo to defend Dr. William Morrison, of the Southern Presbyterian Mission in the Congo, against charges brought through the machinations of the Roman Catholics that he had been guilty of conspiracy against the government. He had successfully defended Dr. Morrison, knew the character of the mission work; and the Socialist party of Belgium, under his leadership, prevented the Roman Catholics from breaking down the provisions of the treaty securing the right to all Protestant bodies to preach and teach in the Congo. The acquaintance formed with M. Vandervelde at that time has been quite valuable during all of my episcopal administration in the Belgian Congo. This first interview with him was on purely relief matters for the good of Belgium with no special reference to religious work.

This initial trip to Belgium, Poland, and Czechoslovakia developed an interest in those countries, and since I visited them several times later, I came to know the European mission field of my Church quite well. The Orient is really the only mission field of the Church with which I have had no personal contacts, except that two of the missionaries in Japan were teachers at Blackstone for several years before going to that country.

In January, 1921, Dr. Robert E. Speer, president of the Federal Council, appointed me to be chairman of the Commission on Relations with Religious Bodies in Europe. During the four years of my chairmanship many very important matters arose in connection with the yearly meetings of American and European religious leaders. The breach between the French and German leaders did not heal as rapidly as that between the German and the English, and especially the American leaders. The French were still very sore because of the German invasion of France, and the Germans very distrustful of French expressions of friendliness or brotherhood. As chairman of the American group for four years, I did everything possible to quietly bring the separated brethren closer together.

At last at a Conference held in Bethesda Church, Copenhagen, in

1922, as chairman representing the Americans, I presented a plan for the establishment of the Central Bureau of Relief for needy European churches, to be located at Geneva with Dr. Adolph Keller, a Swiss pastor, as director. The Federal Council proposed to pay the salary of the director and to make as liberal contributions as possible to the work of the bureau. This action was taken in the summer [of 1922] when there was a great convention of the World Alliance for International Friendship through the Churches.

All the Conferences from 1920 to 1925 were preparatory, in a measure, for the great Life and Work Conference held at Stockholm in the summer of 1925. This Conference, under the leadership of that very able, versatile, and godly man, Archbishop Soderblom of the Church of Sweden, was in every way one of the greatest Protestant Conferences which has ever been held. It was the more remarkable in that World War I had ended only seven years before, but there were present representatives from every Protestant body in Europe and from most of the larger Protestant bodies of the United States, along with the outstanding leaders of the orthodox Greek Church. Exceedingly careful preparations for the Conference were made in advance. Commissions on various subjects were appointed and met in Sweden several days before the meeting of the conference itself. . . .²¹

The German delegates to the Stockholm Conference were greatly divided on the question of the supremacy of the church in all matters pertaining to morals and doctrines. Many of them held to the theory that the state, equally with the church, was ordained by God, and that the Scriptures commanded allegiance to the state. This resulted in the theory that the state having decided upon its course, the members of the church were under obligation to follow the state and be obedient to its mandates. This theory provoked very warm and animated discussion and made it difficult to frame such findings as would be representative of the view of the conference. I did not favor any sort of compromise on such a question, holding that the Word of God was supreme on all teachings of morals and doctrines.

This conference made a very great impression on all European churches and upon none more than the Greek Orthodox Church. The Roman Catholics have for very many years hoped for some arrangement with the Greek Church that would bring that Church to acknowledge the supremacy of the papacy, but the Greek bishops, archbishops, and patriarchs could not yield supremacy to Rome. There had been a study

21. For a discussion of the phase of the Conference that had to do with "Drink," see pp. 349-352.

by the Anglican Church of the orders of the Greek Church and by the Greek Church of the orders of the Anglican Church, and both Churches had become satisfied of the Apostolic Succession of the orders of both Churches. As the Anglican Church furnished many of the leaders of the Stockholm Conference, the Greek Church decided that it would also send its delegates.

That, however, was not the greatest reason the Greek Church decided to send delegates to the conference. The year following the Stockholm Conference, I was visiting Near East Relief orphanage work in Greece, and went to the island of Syra. There I was entertained by the Bishop of Syra, one of those tall, full-bearded, splendidly proportioned men with fine faces, of which the Greek Church can show not a few. After a ritualistic service extending for over four hours, very little of which I could understand and in which I was thankful I could participate sitting in a chair (most of the congregation stood for the entire four hours), I had a long conversation with the Greek Bishop. In most earnest, dramatic fashion the Bishop said:

How could we fail to go to Stockholm? How could we stay away? You American Christians have sent your men and your women, clothes, provisions, and multiplied millions of money to save our people, especially to save our orphanage children. When we received an invitation to attend a conference with those who had loved us enough to come to our rescue from the persecution of our enemies, it would have been the basest ingratitude to refuse such an invitation.

It was the great work done by the American people through the Near East Relief which broke down the barriers between the Greek Church and the Protestant Churches in America.

Two years after the Stockholm Conference, practically the same group of churches held a great Conference at Lausanne, Switzerland, on faith and order, which Conference had as its leader that remarkable, catholic, spiritually minded man, Bishop Charles H. Brent²². . . [I had met Bishop Brent] after the Lambeth Conference of 1920 [which had] issued an unusually broad and fraternal appeal to all Christian churches. This appeal made the non-Anglican bodies feel that the everyday facts of religious life would become the basis of church relations, and that Christian fellowship would no longer be circumscribed by theories of ordination dependent upon tactual [*sic*] transmission. I was so fortunate as to travel

22. Charles Henry Brent (1862-1929) was active in the Protestant Episcopal Church in Buffalo and Boston. In 1901 he was elected Bishop of the Philippine Islands, in 1918 Bishop of Western New York, and from 1926 to 1928 he was Bishop in charge of American Protestant Episcopal Churches in Europe.

on the same steamer with Bishop Brent as I was returning from Europe that year, and Bishop Brent was exceedingly sanguine that the Lambeth appeal would result in a healing of the breach. I insisted, however, that while the Lambeth appeal marked a great advance from that position which the noble Phillips Brooks characterized as "impotent impudence and impudent impotence," yet there was still a requirement that the non-Anglican ministers agree to accept additional ordination, while no such requirement was suggested for the Anglicans.

When the Lausanne Conference met [1927], my health was still far from robust, but I had been advised by my physicians to take an ocean voyage and to stay in Switzerland to recuperate from the effects of the African fever. Notwithstanding my physical condition, I was selected to act as chairman of one of the six commissions of the Lausanne Conference, namely, the Commission on Sacraments. As chairman of the commission, I carried on the business in accordance with the rapid, parliamentary procedure of a Methodist General Conference, and kept the large commission of 130 members strictly to the business in hand. Greatly to the confusion of the European delegates, I recognized no preferred list of speakers, but gave men the floor as they arose to claim it in accordance with American custom. I laughingly told the commission that if the Americans were obliged to follow the European methods in most of the commissions, there was no reason why the Europeans should complain that they must follow the American methods in at least one commission.

At one of the subcommittee meetings, the highly respected and beloved Bishop Ireneus of Novi Sad, Serbia, said with deep emotion, when the formulation of a statement was being finally made, that the views of the Greek Church concerning the sacraments differed so greatly from that of the other communions represented that it seemed impossible to reach any agreement. And then he turned to me, as I was presiding, and put his hand on my shoulder and said most tenderly, "But I do love you, Bishop Cannon, as my brother in Christ Jesus."

I thought that those brethren went entirely too far who insisted that the Conference would be a great failure if there could not be a joint communion celebration in which all the representatives would participate. The refusal to arrange for such a communion service was not unbrotherly in spirit. It simply indicated that honest men had sincerely differing convictions which they were not prepared to surrender. The Conference did not heal the divisions between churches which really differed in views on faith and order. It did make clear the great questions on which there was agreement and the matter[s] on which there was decided difference. It did have a great influence in the promotion of genuine brotherhood and

of a common aim among the separated branches of the church, gathered together at Lausanne. I have continued to be an active member of the Continuation Committee of the Conference, and was appointed a representative of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, in the second Conference held in Edinburgh in 1937. . . .

The General Conference of 1926

. . . At the General Conference of 1926, at the meeting of the College of Bishops, when the Committee on Assignments was appointed with Bishop E. D. Mouzon²³ as chairman, there was considerable discussion as to the assignments of bishops to the mission fields, and it was agreed that before the report of the committee was presented the chairman would confer with each of the bishops. For the first time in my itinerant ministry of thirty-eight years I felt obliged to make a statement concerning my appointment. I indicated the very precarious condition of my wife's health. She suffered from high blood pressure, which had steadily increased and had become more dangerous since 1920. I said that she could not live very long, and that any severe strain might cause a sudden collapse. I therefore requested that I be given no assignment which would entail prolonged separation or difficulty in prompt telegraphic communication. I said, however, that I could carry on the work in the Congo for a while by correspondence. The bishops separated with a distinct understanding that each one would be conferred with before the report of the committee was made.

The Committee on Missions brought in a report to this General Conference requiring that bishops appointed to mission fields must live on the fields to which they might be assigned. The report was the next on the calendar. To my surprise word was passed around that there was to be a meeting of the College of Bishops to pass upon the report of the Committee on Assignments. I went to the meeting wondering how it had happened that the chairman of the committee had not consulted me.

When the report was read, I was assigned the supervision of Brazil and the Congo. I arose and called attention to the statement which I had made concerning my wife's critical condition, and to the further agreement that the chairman of the committee would consult with each bishop before the report was finally made. I stated that, as the bishops well knew, the General Conference was at that moment discussing a report requiring that the bishops be required to live on the mission fields to which they might be assigned, that it would be utterly impossible for

23. Edwin DuBose Mouzon (1869-1937), professor of theology at Southwestern University, was elected bishop in 1910.

me to comply with such a requirement, that I could not possibly take my wife to the mission fields, and that I could not make the long journeys to Brazil and the Congo without a severe strain upon her, shortening her life, with the possibility of a sudden collapse. I furthermore stated that if the assignment was made by the vote of the bishops, and the General Conference adopted the requirement that the bishop must live on the field, I would make a statement to the General Conference of the facts in the case, and if the General Conference did not modify the requirement in my case, I would resign rather than be guilty of such an act of cruelty to my wife.

Bishop Mouzon said that I was the hardest man to find that he had ever looked for. I replied immediately that he could not have looked for me very carefully, or thoroughly, for I had been on the platform during every minute of the sessions of the General Conference, and that upon the adjournment of the General Conference I went to my room at the hotel, remaining there all the time except for meals, and that, as a matter of fact, Bishop Mouzon had failed to carry out the agreement.

There was considerable discussion of the assignments, several of the bishops expressing their agreement with me. But the report was adopted by a majority of one vote. When the assignments were given out to the General Conference, the discussion on the report concerning episcopal residence in foreign fields took a new turn. Dr. R. H. Bennett, chairman of the Virginia delegation, emphasized the impracticality of the report, citing as an illustration the fact that I could not live both in Brazil and in the Congo, that I would have to have one foot in Africa and one in South America, that probably the nearest middle ground would be the island of St. Helena, where the exiled Emperor Napoleon died.

The General Conference as a body did not desire that I be required to live outside of the United States, and the report was recommitted. When it was brought back, it was still unsatisfactory to the General Conference and was laid on the table. I was, therefore, spared the necessity of making any statement asking that I be excepted from any requirements.

In the meantime I had told Bishop Mouzon that I was amazed that, after what he had said in the first meeting of the College of Bishops concerning the assignments of bishops to foreign fields, he should have favored any such assignment for me, and that he should have declared that he could not find me to talk the matter over. I confined myself simply to a statement of facts without any heat, but he did not take kindly what I said, and became even more distant in his attitude toward me.

At that same session of the General Conference, owing to the unusually fine work which Dr. R. H. Bennett had been doing in the Department of Ministerial Supply and Training, both in the office and on the platform, there was a strong sentiment in the General Conference to elect him as General Secretary of the Board of Education. When Dr. Bennett was approached on the subject, he gave no encouragement to the movement, stating that he had been working under Dr. Stonewall Anderson,²⁴ and he did not want to be put in the attitude of attempting to undercut Dr. Anderson in any way. Nevertheless, Dr. Bennett received a large vote, and Dr. Anderson was much disturbed. Before the next meeting of the Board of Education Dr. Anderson wrote to Dr. Bennett, stating that he had decided to make some changes in the program of the work of the board, and that in the new setup there would be no place for Dr. Bennett. . . .

When the meeting of the board was held at the Publishing House in Nashville in June, 1926, and Dr. Anderson presented his nominations, I inquired why Dr. Bennett was not renominated as secretary of the Department of Ministerial Supply and Training. Dr. Anderson replied that he had decided to reorganize the work of the board and to make some adjustments in the personnel and that Dr. Bennett did not fit into the setup which he had planned. He also emphasized that in order to carry on the work of the board smoothly, the General Secretary should be given a free hand in the choice of his assistants.

I replied, discussing the matter very fully, emphasizing the qualifications Dr. Bennett had by educational training, work as a pastor of leading churches, as professor at Randolph-Macon College, and as secretary of the department for over ten years, developing the work to a high degree of efficiency. I also emphasized his great acceptability as a representative of the board at Annual Conferences and at various kinds of religious gatherings, stating what I knew to be the fact that, whenever it was noised around in the basement that Dr. Bennett was speaking, men went up into the auditorium, whereas on many occasions I had seen them leave the auditorium and go to the basement when some other representatives of the board rose to speak. This may not have been tactful, but it was true, and my sense of justice and fair play had been greatly stirred. I insisted that the secretary of the board could work smoothly and agreeably with Dr. Bennett, as there was nothing angular or combative in Dr. Bennett's disposition.

Bishop Mouzon, who had been elected chairman of the board, was

24. Stonewall Anderson (1864-1928), an Arkansas minister, was Secretary of the Board of Education, Methodist Episcopal Church, South, from 1910 until his death.

greatly disturbed by my insistence upon the right and the duty of the board to override Dr. Anderson's action and to re-elect Dr. Bennett to his old position. I knew that he and Dr. Anderson had talked the matter over, and that he approved Dr. Anderson's action, but I was not prepared for the feeling which he displayed. He left the chair, walked up and down the platform, wringing his hands, and declared that Bishop Cannon had precipitated a very unfortunate discussion, and had placed all the members of the board in a very embarrassing position, and his whole attitude was that I was to be censured for making a plain statement of my convictions. I replied that I was clearly within my rights, that the issue involved was to me one of justice and fair play to an efficient and trusted assistant secretary of the board, that I knew my motion would not prevail, but that I was going to insist upon a recorded vote. This having been taken, my motion, as I had foreseen, was defeated, and Dr. Bennett, one of the most efficient secretaries the Board of Education has ever had, was not re-elected because he had not been nominated by the General Secretary.

After adjournment of the board, Bishop Mouzon said to me that if I was not in sympathy with the program of the board and its General Secretary I should certainly not try to block it, and if not satisfied that I should resign. I told him that I had been a member of the board for sixteen years, that I had done a great deal of hard work as a member of the board, indeed I must say quite frankly much more than he had done, that I had had more experience in secondary school work than any other member of the board, that I had been elected by the board to be the chairman of the Educational Campaign Commission in 1920, which commission had secured [several] million dollars, and that with the record which I had made in the work of education, I saw no more reason for me to resign than for him to resign.

I then stated that I understood that some criticism had been made against Dr. Bennett because he did not approve of certain books which were being used in some of the pastors' schools, that he thought that they were too modernistic in their teachings, and that I myself, while I had never been inclined to stir up contention and strife in our Church on doctrinal matters, was not at all satisfied with the modernistic trend which was being given to the work of the Board of Education by himself and by Dr. Anderson.

He replied that he did not believe in "dry-rot" in theological thought, and he was glad to say that he was progressive in his thinking.

I replied that I tried to be progressive in methods, and I welcomed most heartily any light which would make more clear the fundamental

teachings of Jesus, but that I abhorred the blatant modernism of the present time, which was whittling away at the foundations of faith and actually seemed to glory in it.

He then made the intensely personal statement that I should read more new books, that one of the leaders of the Church had said to him recently that he did not suppose I had read a new book on theology in the past ten years, and reiterated the statement that he held very positively to the view that if I was not in harmony with the leadership and policies of the Board of Education, I should not continue as a member of the board. I replied that possibly both he and I should give heed to St. Paul's admonition that we should not think more highly of our educational qualifications than we ought to think, but that certainly I did not propose to resign from a board in whose work I had been intensely interested for very many years because I did not agree with some policies and actions of the chairman and the General Secretary. To this he made no reply.

This incident in the Board of Education, and the conversation following, did not make for closer relations between Bishop Mouzon and myself, and I was not at all surprised that in 1930, when I was intensely occupied with other matters, I was, without any consultation whatever, dropped from membership on the Board of Education.

The Congo (1927-1934)

From 1922 to 1927 I carried on a continued correspondence with the workers in the Congo, and from my personal knowledge of the conditions in the field was able to pass judgment on most matters requiring administration from the home base.

In 1927, however, it became evident that another visit to the field should be made. My wife's physical condition was not at all satisfactory, but once again we agreed that I ought to make the trip. Leaving home the latter part of February, I sailed first to England,²⁵ then across Europe to an inspection of Near East Relief Work in Greece, Syria, Palestine, and Egypt, and then took a French steamer at Port Said for Mombasa in Kenya.

The steamer carried no first-class, and the second-class cabins were quite cramped, the companionship uncongenial, and I anticipated an uncomfortable, hot passage through the Red Sea. Fortunately, however, the winds and temperature were quite favorable, and the only very disagreeable day was the day spent at Djibouti, in French Somaliland. I could see no reason why any European should take up life in any country

25. See pp. 367 ff.

bordering on the Red Sea unless he be a missionary, giving his life to sacrificial service for the natives.

The days and nights spent on the island of Zanzibar were really a worth-while experience. The inhabitants of the island were largely Mohammedan Arabs, but they most willingly, indeed apparently gladly, acknowledged King George as their sovereign king, with a British governor-general, but with a Mohammedan prince as the factotum ruler of the island. The Church of England was doing a fine missionary work, and many of the Moslems attended the Christian service. It was currently reported that the prince had in fact embraced monogamy and was living with only one wife, although three other wives lived in the palace. I was greatly impressed at Zanzibar, as I was in all the countries of East and South Africa under British control, with the wisdom of the British policy in regard to native races.

At Mombasa I had time to run up to the capital of the colony and see there the great work of the Church of England among the natives. The English Bible and the English prayer book had both been translated in full into Swahili by the British and Foreign Bible Society, and were sold at a low price or, if necessary, given away. The English colony, both in Uganda and in Kenya, was large and of a very high type, and already had a most substantial growth.

The next lap of the journey was from Mombasa to Dar-es-Salaam, the port of what was formerly German East Africa, but was now known as the Tanganyika Territory. It formed a very necessary link in the uninterrupted stretch of territory under British control from the Cape to Cairo.

A train run of two days and one night was required from Dar-es-Salaam to Kigoma, a port on Lake Tanganyika from which the steamer ran to Albertville in the Belgian Congo. It was at Ujiji, near this place, that Henry M. Stanley found Dr. Livingstone and vainly tried to persuade him to return with him to Europe. There was only one thing which impressed itself on my memory in the tedious run across the length of Tanganyika. The territory is infested with the tsetse fly, the bite of which frequently produces sleeping sickness. I had a compartment alone and carefully kept the window down and the door shut as closely as possible, but despite all my precautions I was bitten twice, and was left to wonder for several days whether the flies which bit me were infected.

The trip was made with comparative ease across the lake, then through the Congo, by rail and steamer to Kibombo, but when I reached there I was faced with a difficult problem. My cable had evidently been

delayed, for no missionaries were there to meet me with the hammock men and the carriers. I had learned on my first trip to travel very lightly, and I got off the train at Kibombo with little baggage. I found myself in a very difficult situation. I was able to speak only very broken French and had to make myself understood by the sign language. I was positively assured by the Belgian officials at the station that I could not get to Tunda until I had sent a runner to bring back men enough to carry me through, which procedure meant a loss of a full week.

I had my baggage carried over to the store near by and there was greeted most cordially by the Belgian trader whom I had met five years before a few miles from Kibombo.²⁶ I emphasized to him the great need of haste, and within less than three hours the caravan was all made up with hammock men and bearers, ample supplies for the trip of four days having been bought at the Belgian store. The Belgian took a number of his own trusty men, putting one of them at the head of the caravan, and told them all, every one of whom he knew, that he would hold them personally responsible for my comfort and safety. So I went off on the path with no knowledge of the native language, and with no one of the natives having any knowledge of English. The sign language was used throughout, but the head natives were bright, and there was no difficulty. The trip was made in record time because I had promised all of the natives a liberal *matebish* (tip) for quick service.

On the first night out, immediately after supper, I sat on the porch of the "resthouse," took out my hymnbook, sang a hymn, read a passage of Scripture, offered prayer, and then sang another hymn. The natives all squatted around in semicircle, their eyes shining in the firelight. They listened quietly to the reading, but did not know what to do during the prayer. After the singing of the first hymn, they awkwardly tried to join in on the second hymn, earnestly trying to keep some semblance of the tune. The whole native village was lined up as a background. The men looked forward to this service every night, and there was never any noise or lack of reverence. . . .

I found that at all the mission stations there had been a great advancement in the work. I sent out a runner ahead to announce my coming to the Mission. When Chief Tunda heard of it, he beat his drum, called together his people, and had a great number of them to meet me several miles from his village. A fresh set of hammock carriers were sent and insisted on taking the Owangi the rest of the way. I was greatly pleased that the hammock bearers I had had from Kibombo resisted the change

26. See p. 224.

until I told them that they could take the hammock again when they came within a half a mile of the village. They greatly enjoyed going through the village with singing and shouting. . . .

Owing to my wife's serious condition I had arranged my plans to make my trip to the Congo and return in the quickest possible time. The Governor-General at Leopoldville had radioed the administrators through whose territory I would pass to facilitate my progress. After a very thorough consideration of the work of the Mission and the formulation of plans for the future, I started in a Ford truck from Wembo Nyama to Lusambo with several of the missionaries, driving by the light of the moon to make Lusambo that night. When we reached the last river, we found that the workmen of Ona Kasongo had laid the poles lengthwise but had not put on the cross-layer, so that the truck could not possibly cross the stream.

When we discovered this fact at about 11 P.M., a terrific hurricane swept over the country, driving us for protection to a small native hut near the river. The native was very hospitable, took his wife and daughters and grandchildren out to some little outhouses, and gave the missionaries the use of his hut. We were so tired that we went off to sleep almost immediately, lying on the blankets which we had spread on the floor. In less than an hour a large rat fell from one of the mats in the upper part of the hut, striking me on the head and waking me up. I found myself to be literally covered with fleas and lice, and suffering from mosquito bites inflicted in my sleep. As the rain had diminished, I went outside the hut and put a steamer chair under the eaves and sat there until morning. The next day a hot bath and fumigation and cleaning of my clothes repaired the external damage.

All connections were made, with stops as on the former trip at Elizabethville, Bulawayo, and Capetown, where four public functions were attended between 8 A.M. and 4 P.M. I boarded the steamer expecting to have another delightful voyage after the past strenuous sixty days. But at 11 P.M., two weeks to the hour from the time I went to sleep in the native hut, I was attacked by a very severe form of African fever, my temperature running at once to 104°, and continuing with slight fluctuation very high for two full weeks. I informed Dr. Blackstone, the ship's doctor, just what had happened to me two weeks before.

For the first ten days my condition was increasingly critical, and the doctor radioed to the Board of Missions that I was in a serious condition. This message, unfortunately, was given to the daily press, and the first knowledge that my wife had of my condition was gained from a headline in the newspaper. A return message came from the Board of Mis-

sions. When the doctor brought this to me, I learned for the first time that a message had been sent. It was early in the morning, when my fever was lower than in the afternoon, and I immediately radioed my wife that my temperature was lower and I was improving.

Fortunately I did improve until, when I reached Madeira, I was entirely out of any immediate danger. When the fever left me suddenly one night at 11 P.M., just two weeks from the time of the attack, my steward, who had become very much attached to me, fearing that the doctor would not reach me when the sinking spell came, rushed down to his chest and brought up a bottle of French brandy which he had kept ever since the war. The doctor appeared at about the same time and said that he never used alcohol under such conditions, but gave strychnine and other kinds of stimulants. The steward was much disappointed and insisted that the brandy was the best treatment. The doctor laughed and said, "I do not use it, and if you knew who this patient is, you would not expect him to use it." The steward, somewhat puzzled, said, "You don't mean he is one of those prohibition fanatics, do you?" And the doctor replied, "From what I hear, he is one of the worst."

Upon reaching London I was given a thorough examination at the Royal Hospital for Tropical Diseases. The doctors reported that they could not give a final report without an incision to determine whether there was an ulcerated condition of the stomach. This operation I declined to have performed, stating that if I could reach the United States, I would prefer to have it performed in Richmond, where, if it was fatal, I could be buried in Hollywood Cemetery instead of in England or in the ocean. No operation was performed at that time or since, but I date from that fever the attacks of varying severity which I have had from time to time. . . .

Notwithstanding this experience, in 1929 when conditions arose in the Congo which called for episcopal action, at the request of both foreign secretaries, I agreed to make a trip to straighten out the difficulties which had arisen. I went to the Congo and returned on crutches. I was in the ship's hospital part of the way going and all of the way coming back.

I especially enjoyed the trip going out because of the opportunity to talk with General Jan Smuts. He was returning to South Africa from a trip to England and America. I had met him in New York, where I was one of the committee that had given a dinner in his honor. I had met General Smuts on my former trip to Africa and admired his ecumenical attitude and his policies in South Africa as opposed to those of the Boer General Herzog, who, by combination with the Labor party,

had become Prime Minister and controlled the South African Parliament. These talks on shipboard increased my interest in South African affairs, and were especially enlightening in reference to Cecil Rhodes.

The trip through South Africa, then up through the Katanga country of the Belgian Congo, and by truck to the mission meeting was a tremendous strain upon my nervous and physical powers generally. I could not have made the trip without a collapse, had it not been for the special courtesies extended to me by Major Heenan, the Governor-General of the Katanga, whose acquaintance I had made on the long steamer trip from Antwerp to Matadi in 1922. Major Heenan was a Belgian of the highest type, and while a Roman Catholic by profession, yet he had been strongly impressed by the splendid work done by American Protestants in feeding and saving starving Belgians during the war.

When I reached Elizabethville, I found that all of my plans had gone awry. No reservations had been made on the train, swollen streams had washed out certain sections of the track which, while repaired, were not yet open to general train service. It seemed that in my bad physical condition I would be unable to make the trip. Appeals to the director of railroads secured no help. Just when I had decided that I must return home without visiting the Mission or remain indefinitely at Elizabethville (in which event I would not be present at the General Conference of 1930, which I knew I must attend), I saw in the English section of the Elizabethville paper that Major Heenan, the Governor-General, had returned to Elizabethville the night before.

I drove immediately to the Governor-General's mansion, and told the secretary that I would like to see the Governor-General at once, if possible. The secretary was not especially impressed with my insistence, and told me that it would be impossible to see the Governor-General that day, that he was in a conference with the administrators of the Katanga District. I wrote on my card a brief note to the Governor-General, stating that my business was urgent, and asking for a few minutes as soon as possible. The secretary shrugged his shoulders in Belgian fashion, but took the card. He returned almost immediately, a transformed man. He invited me into the inner office, gave me a most comfortable armchair, and told me the Governor-General would see me in ten minutes.

I asked the co-operation of the Governor-General in carrying out my plans, explaining my needs briefly but fully, and emphasizing the need for as much comfort as possible consistent with speed. Immediately and with real pleasure, he gave me letters to the railroad, airplane, and all other Belgian officials, directing them to put at my disposal

the best possible equipment and to give me the best possible service. With only two hours before the train was to leave, I found the station master, who suddenly discovered that he could attach a private carriage to the train, which would accommodate not only me but two missionaries and their wives who were in Elizabethville on their way to the mission station. In that special carriage I traveled as far as it was possible to go, and then went about two hundred miles in the truck to the mission station, most of the time in a driving rain.

I held the conference lying on a cot with both feet and ankles swathed in ichthyol bandages, but I had a most helpful and inspiring meeting of the Mission. After a few days in which I received most skilful attention from the mission nurses and doctors, without which I could hardly have continued to travel, I returned, using the Belgian airship from [Aduluaburg] to Elizabethville. I was barely able to accept any of the courtesies extended to me by my Cape Town friends. Though I was in much pain, I did make two addresses. As soon as I got on the steamer, I went to the ship's hospital, where I was most carefully tended by the steward in charge, a member of the Wesleyan Church in England, and, by strange coincidence, by the same Doctor Blackstone who had attended me when I had the African fever three years before.

I continued in charge of the Congo Mission from 1930 to 1934, carrying on a most active correspondence and assisting in deciding questions which arose on the field which were referred back to the home office. I have never regretted that I accepted the assignment, and notwithstanding the physical disabilities which appear to have had their origin in the fever of 1927, I have always been glad that I could be associated with the development of the work of the Church among the black men of Africa.

Brazil (1926-1930)

I greatly enjoyed my association with the workers in Brazil, both Brazilian and missionary. On my first visit [summer and fall of 1926] I was accompanied by my son Edward. We went via Lisbon, and on the steamer met some of the Portuguese workers. I made an exhaustive inquiry into every phase of the work and became personally acquainted with every missionary and Brazilian worker. I inspected with special care the school and church property. After holding the three Conferences, I went to Buenos Aires expecting to return to Brazil, but a cable announcing sickness at home compelled me to take the shortest route, which was across the Andes, by Chile, Peru, the Panama Canal, and Cuba. . . .²⁷

27. See p. 364 n. 1.

My second trip to Brazil (in 1927) was made against the advice of my physicians. I had reached the United States the latter part of June, much weakened by the African fever experience, but had been greatly improved by the sea voyage to Europe and return and four weeks' stay in Switzerland at the Lausanne Conference. Nevertheless, the doctors feared the results of going so soon into equatorial temperatures. But there were certain matters of administration in Brazil which I felt required my official presence.

When I announced my decision to go, my wife declared that if I went, she was going also. She told me she did not think she could survive another absence of the duration of such a trip, and that if she were going to die, she preferred to die where I was rather than five thousand miles away. So we both went to Brazil in September, 1927, and both of us were very seriously affected by the severe heat in crossing the equator. I greatly doubted whether my wife would survive; she on her part felt the same way about me, but we did not tell each other our thoughts.

The trip from São Paulo to Porto Alegre was a hard one of four days—on trains it is true, but with no sleepers part of the way, and very primitive ones where there were any. Several leaders of the South Brazil Conference who were at the Central Brazil Conference at São Paulo came to me in a body and protested against my making the trip to southern Brazil in my evidently enfeebled condition. For the first time in my life, owing largely to my wife's condition, I agreed not to go, and sailed for home on the earliest steamer. The experience in crossing the equator again was worse, if anything, than on the trip coming out, and we were both weak and on the verge of collapse when we reached home.

Shortly afterward I attended the meeting of the College of Bishops at Jackson, Mississippi, where at the same time the General Missionary Council was held. I had been requested to make one of the principal night addresses, but had been unable to concentrate or do any work since my return. When I reached Jackson, I sent the General Missionary Secretary word that I did not think it would be possible for me to make any address that night. But after getting two or three hours' sleep I went to work, and in the afternoon wrote an address on "The Gospel." This was a simple statement of what I understood to be the Christian Gospel, which I had been called upon to preach. Gathering together all my reserve strength, I read it to the great gathering that night. Much to my surprise the council voted to have the address printed in pamphlet form. As I almost tottered out of the church to a cab, I heard Bishop McMurry say to a friend, "That man is marked by death. He will not live sixty days."

But I determined not to die. I did not believe my work was ended. The next year, owing to the death of my wife in November, 1928, the College of Bishops urged me not to attempt to go to Brazil. Perhaps they realized the mistake made in 1926. I did not go until 1929, when, in much improved health, I held the three Brazil Conferences, going to the Southern Conference by way of Montevideo, with which city I was much pleased. Indeed the trip through Uruguay was quite a surprise. The country and the people reminded me of western Texas, and they seemed less like Spaniards than any South American people I had visited.

. . . My time at the General Conference of 1930 was largely taken up in defending myself from the attack made upon me by a group of Methodist laymen, all of whom, as closely as I could check the matter up, had opposed the Anti-Smith Democratic movement. . . . At that General Conference I was given supervision again of Brazil and Africa. Bishop Mouzon was appointed as chairman of a commission of five to go to Brazil and to join with the Brazilian Church in establishing an autonomous Brazilian Methodist Church. While I was making my preparation for the holding of the three Brazilian Conferences, Bishop Mouzon wired me that it would not be necessary for me to go to Brazil, that he could preside at the Conferences and attend to the work of the commission. I replied that I had been assigned by the College of Bishops to preside over the sessions of the Brazilian Conferences, that I considered the matter to be of too great importance to be committed to anyone else, and that I should be present to preside at the dates fixed for the holding of the Conferences.

When the Brazil Conference met in its first night session at Petropolis, I carried on the business of the organization of the Conference, introduced the members of the commission, and stated that full opportunity would be given to the commission to present the important matter with which it was charged at a later session, and that the Conference could then take such action as might be necessary to put into effect the plan of the General Conference.

I do not know what Bishop Mouzon had expected me to do. I simply followed what seemed to me to be normal procedure. But upon the return of the commission to the hotel where we were stopping, as I was going up the stairs to my room, Bishop Mouzon called me and said, "Bishop Cannon, it is necessary for the commission to go into executive session and have a conference with you."

We went into executive session and then quite abruptly he said, "Bishop Cannon, if you do not intend to co-operate with the commission, we might as well take the next steamer and go home."

I was greatly surprised and could not understand the cause for such a statement, but I replied quietly, "Bishop Mouzon, of course it is my purpose to endeavor to carry out the will of the General Conference as expressed in the report which it adopted, and in the instructions which it gave to this commission but I do not interpret the action of the General Conference to mean that the bishop presiding over the Brazil Annual Conferences is to turn over the conduct of those Conferences to the commission, but [I believe] that it is his duty to see that the regular work of the Annual Conferences is carried out, and that proper action is taken for the selection of the members of the commission from the Brazil Conferences, and for the proper authorization by the Annual Conferences for the setting up of the new General Conference, and for the election of delegates to the General Conference after it is set up. It is my intention to give ample time to the commission for its work in presenting the plan to the Annual Conferences, but the Annual Conferences must themselves complete their regular business and take the actions necessary for the constitution of the joint commission and the General Conference following."

Bishop Mouzon apparently seemed to think that the commission could take general charge of the work of the Annual Conferences, whereas I thought its work was limited and clearly defined. And, as a matter of fact, after that meeting on the first evening, the work was carried on in accordance with the methods which I had outlined.

After the three Conferences had selected the Brazilian members of the commission—five from each Conference—and had elected their delegates to the General Conference, later to be provided, the commission of twenty met at our church in the city of São Paulo. I did not attend the first meeting of the commission, but was told accurately by several members of the commission what occurred.

Bishop Mouzon made a statement, and at the close of it said that all the sessions of the commission should be executive. Several of the Brazilian members objected, and asked specifically whether he meant that no one but members of the commission could attend its meetings. Did he mean to exclude the bishop presiding over the Brazilian Conferences?

He replied that he did. To this the Brazilians objected, stating that they desired the presiding bishop to be present to know the business before the commission, as they might desire to consult with him concerning some matters. Furthermore, they said that they desired that the other members of the Annual Conferences, clerical and lay, and members interested in the work of the commission, including all the missionaries,

should be present. So by an overwhelming vote the request for executive sessions was denied.

I attended most of the sessions of the commission, as did most of the missionaries and leading members of the three Conferences. As was natural, there were some points of friction concerning which the Brazilian brethren consulted with me freely, and I gave them my views without hesitation, but I took no part in the discussion.

When the work of the commission had been completed, Bishop Mouzon made a statement concerning the procedure in the General Conference, which was to convene on the day following the ratification of the plan. He said that as chairman of the joint commission he would preside at the General Conference until the Conference had elected its own bishop.

The Brazilian delegates stated that they would like for their own bishop (myself) to preside alternately with Bishop Mouzon. He was much offended at this proposal, and impetuously declared, "I am a gentleman, my father was a gentleman, my grandfather was a gentleman, and all my forefathers. I would certainly be sufficiently courteous to invite Bishop Cannon to preside from time to time over the General Conference."

This did not satisfy the Brazilian members of the commission, and one of them replied, "I am a gentleman, and was a gentleman before I ever joined the Methodist Church, my father was a gentleman and my grandfather was a gentleman. The method proposed by Bishop Mouzon is not satisfactory. We do not think that our bishop should preside as a matter of courtesy, but that he should preside alternately with the chairman of the commission." Bishop Mouzon adjourned the commission and left the room.

The next day (Sunday) the American members of the commission and some others dined at the home of Dr. W. B. Lee, one of the veteran Brazilian missionaries. It was a very pleasant brotherly occasion. After dinner Miss Esther Case, Judge W. Erskine Williams, my wife, and I drove from Dr. Lee's residence (about six miles) back to the hotel where we were stopping.

Judge Williams asked me what I thought of the discussion the day before concerning the presidency of the General Conference. I stated that I had been taken by surprise by the discussion, that my opinion had not been asked by anyone until then, that the matter seemed to me to be a very simple one, presenting no difficulties whatever.

I emphasized that neither Bishop Mouzon nor I had any official relation to the Brazilian General Conference; that it was entirely proper for

the commission to state who should call the Brazilian General Conference to order, but that having been called to order it was the business of the Conference to elect its own president and secretary from among its own members, the president so elected to preside until the election of the bishop for Brazil; that, of course, the president of the Conference could, if he so desired, as a matter of courtesy, request the chairman of the commission or the bishop previously in charge to sit with him on the platform, and to preside occasionally, but that in my judgment the whole matter was entirely in the hands of the General Conference when it convened.

Judge Williams immediately agreed with me, and said he did not know why the commission had not proposed that procedure. He said that he would talk with Bishop Mouzon when he reached the hotel. When he reached the hotel he found Brother Dickie, one of our veteran Brazilian missionaries, waiting there to talk the matter over with Bishop Mouzon to present the views of the Brazilian brethren. He and Judge Williams agreed that the procedure I had suggested was the only proper procedure.

They saw Bishop Mouzon and stated to him their opinion. Bishop Mouzon replied, as they told me, that it was evident it was a waste of time for the commission to remain in Brazil any longer, and although sailing had been engaged for ten days later, he canceled those sailings and engaged passage for the first boat sailing—the following Wednesday—and on Monday night, immediately after the proclamation of the constitution of the autonomous Brazilian Church, Bishop Mouzon left for Rio de Janeiro and sailed for the United States on Wednesday.

When the Brazilian General Conference was convened, Dr. H. C. Tucker was elected president of the Conference and presided throughout the entire session, for the Conference elected Dr. J. W. Barbeaux as its first bishop, and as he was in the United States, he could not be present. Dr. Tucker invited me to sit with him on the platform, to preside from time to time, and to consult very frequently on various matters.

At the invitations of the Brazilian brethren, I had agreed to attend the sessions of all the Annual Conferences after the General Conference, but I was called home to consider the charges which had been brought against me by three ministers. These charges were finally disposed of in February, 1931, the committee of investigation finding that the charges did not warrant a trial. [But] the investigations by the Nye Committee followed during the year 1931. . . .

Differences with Bishop Mouzon (1931-1934)

At the meeting of the Commission on Temperance and Social Service in [1931], owing to the failure of President Hoover to carry out his pledge that he would vigorously and effectively enforce the Eighteenth Amendment, it was increasingly evident that a crisis was approaching in reference to the Eighteenth Amendment. The commission requested that either Dr. E. L. Crawford,²⁸ the General Secretary, or I, try to arrange to attend the session of every Annual Conference to emphasize the necessity for increasing vigilance and activity on the part of our ministry and membership.

In planning our work, it was arranged that Dr. Crawford should attend the meeting of the Baltimore Conference, but shortly before the meeting of the Conference Dr. Crawford found that he could not go. [On September 29, 1931,] I . . . therefore wired Bishop Mouzon, who was presiding over the Conference at Roanoke, stating that Dr. Crawford could not attend and that it would be necessary, therefore, for me to take his place, and I asked to know what time would be most convenient for me to represent the work of our board. To this telegram Bishop Mouzon replied:

[It is not possible to give either you or Dr. E. L. Crawford a place on the program of the Baltimore Conference. The Board of Temperance and Social Service will be properly represented by myself and members of the Conference. This position is taken in the interest of the Church and of the cause the Board was organized to serve.]

I replied promptly:

[In accordance with instructions of General Board of Temperance and Social Service I shall come to Roanoke as Chairman of General Board and shall as is customary present interest committed to hands of our board by General Conference to the Baltimore Annual Conference Board. It rests with that board and not with Bishop to determine whether it will make exception in treatment accorded to General Board of Temperance to that accorded to the representatives of other boards. The bishop in charge of an Annual Conference has no authority beyond that laid down in the discipline, certainly no authority to arrogate to himself to determine that he will properly represent policies and needs of board of which he is not a member nor ever been requested to represent said board. I shall never agree that any other man shall determine for me how I shall meet the responsibilities laid upon me by the Church. See paragraph discipline five twenty-one outlining board's work.]

I went at once to Roanoke, and upon my arrival went to the confer-

28. The Commission on Temperance and Social Service, according to the *Southern Methodist Yearbook*, was changed between 1926 and 1927 to the the Board of Temperance and Social Service. Crawford became General Secretary in 1928.

ence room; and, although Bishop Mouzon saw me and introduced several other persons, he did not recognize me, invite me to the platform, or introduce me. I gave the matter no special attention at the time, but sought for the chairman of the Baltimore Conference Committee on Temperance and Social Service. I could not find him, but I was told by some members of the committee that the report had already been agreed upon, and that there was to be no further meeting of the committee.

I waited until the evening session, when I sought out the chairman of the committee and asked him if he would not call the committee to meet at the close of the evening service. He was courteous, but said that the committee had agreed upon its report. I stated that I was there representing the General Conference Board and that I desired to present some matters to the Annual Conference Board, as had always been customary. He agreed to call a meeting of the board the next afternoon.

The next morning, during the conference proceedings, Bishop Mouzon recognized my presence on the conference floor and introduced me to the Conference, but did not invite me to the platform, which was the occasion of much comment all over the Conference. At the close of the session I went as promptly as possible (for I was using two crutches) to the committee room on the upper floor of the annex, and just as I reached the door, the members came out, stating that the committee had met and that as it had no business, it had adjourned.

I insisted that all the members of the committee who could be gathered be called back that I might make a statement which was being made to all the other Conference boards. I finally secured the attendance of a majority of the committee, made my statement, and insisted upon a resolution in the report of the board concerning the matter I had discussed.

The board recognized its importance, and adopted a very satisfactory resolution. When the report was read to the Conference, I arose from where I was sitting on the conference floor, and spoke to the report, and was warmly applauded by the Conference, as the local daily papers indicate.

Later on I arose and stated that I desired to take leave of the Conference and [at the same time questioned Bishop Mouzon's action in not inviting me as a Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, to the platform].

Bishop Mouzon made no reply, but simply asked, "Are there any further announcements?" And the Conference adjourned.²⁹

29. For details of this interchange, see the *Roanoke Times*, Oct. 1, 1931.

My statement, which was in writing, was sent to him at his request. A misleading and somewhat garbled statement was sent out by the Associated Press, and was printed in the first edition of the *Roanoke World News*. I saw that edition and promptly called the editor in person, and read to him the statement which I had made and asked him to print that statement and not the misleading statement which had appeared in the first edition, and this was done.

The Associated Press report was seized upon by critical and hostile secular papers, which stated that I had been repudiated and humiliated by Bishop Mouzon because of his disagreement with the settlement of the charges against me, both by the General Conference and by the special committee of investigation.³⁰ For example, the *Raleigh News and Observer*, the editor of which, Mr. Josephus Daniels, had been one of the leaders in pressing the charges against me before the Committee on Episcopacy at the Dallas General Conference in 1930 and in opposing my re-election as chairman of the Board of Temperance and Social Service, wrote an editorial of a column in length, entitled, "Are There any Further Announcements?," which editorial praised Bishop Mouzon for his action and sharply condemned me.

At the meeting of the Virginia Conference at Lynchburg in October, 1931, Bishop Mouzon presided. I had been requested, as had been the custom for very many years, to make an address following the report of the annual Commission on Temperance and Social Service. I accepted the invitation and attended the conference, stopping at the Virginian Hotel, where Bishop Mouzon also stopped.

On the night before the consideration of the report the Reverend F. R. Chenault, the chairman of the committee, and Brother J. Peters, one of my closest friends, came to my room and stated that they had just come from Bishop Mouzon's room and that he had stated that he would not speak on the program if I spoke, and wanted to know what was to be done.

I replied that I could not be responsible for Bishop Mouzon's actions, that I would be present and would speak, and that if he did not desire to speak, that was a matter for him to settle.

The next morning I took my seat in the conference room at the corner of one of the front benches, where I had formerly sat for many years. Bishop Mouzon did not recognize my presence in any way, although he saw that I was present. Dr. Chenault read the report on temperance and social service, and then stated that I would be the first speaker.

I arose and walked to the altar rail, and started my speech as usual,

30. For the background of this controversy, see p. xxi.

"Mr. Chairman and Brethren." Bishop Mouzon was seated in a revolving arm chair. As I came forward, without recognizing me in any way, he deliberately turned his chair to face the side wall of the church, and remained in that position during my entire speech.

I did not allow his conduct to affect in any way the manner or the matter of my speech. The *Lynchburg News*, a hostile newspaper owned by Senator Carter Glass, stated that at the conclusion of my speech I "received a great ovation." As I returned to my seat, Bishop Mouzon turned his chair to face the Conference once more, and then Dr. Chenault said that the next speaker would be Dr. Clarence True Wilson, General Secretary of the Board of Temperance, Prohibition, and Public Morals of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Bishop Mouzon arose, stepped out of his chair, walking toward the left steps to the platform, and said, "Come up to the platform, Dr. Wilson. Brethren, I take great pleasure in introducing to you the distinguished secretary of a great board of our sister church."

These two occurrences, at Roanoke and Lynchburg, were given widespread notice, and greatly encouraged my enemies of the "Rum, Romanism, and Bourbonism" persuasion.

A few days later the Ecumenical Conference of Methodism met in Atlanta. My friends in Atlanta, stirred by the reports of what had happened, invited me to address a great mass meeting at the city auditorium on the night before the opening of the Ecumenical Conference, and I was invited by one of the leading hotels to be its guest during the session of the conference.

At the opening session of the conference [on the night of October 16, 1931], when I arrived at Wesley Memorial Church, where the conference was being held, the newsboys were crying all around the entrances to the church, "Bishop Cannon indicted." I was not at all surprised, in deed I had predicted in my address at the auditorium the night before that the Roman Catholic district attorney, with his Roman Catholic majority in the grand jury of the District of Columbia, encouraged by the idea that Bishop Mouzon's actions at Roanoke and Lynchburg were representative of a widespread sentiment in my own Church, would find an indictment.

I went into one of the committee rooms where some of the delegates were gathering, and there found Gypsy Smith, with whom I had had very pleasant associations. We talked together until time to go to the platform, upon which seats had been reserved for certain representatives of the different churches. Gypsy Smith and I went into the auditorium together. As we came out of the committee room facing the packed

auditorium, applause started in various parts of the room, which increased steadily, and as we reached the steps to the platform, to mount which Gypsy Smith assisted me, as I was on two crutches, the delegates and audience arose almost *en masse*, and also most of those on the platform.

I did not attribute any personal significance to the matter, but supposed they were applauding my companion, a distinguished evangelist, and I quietly took my seat by his side. The applause continuing, I quietly said to him, "Get up and acknowledge their applause." Much to my surprise, he said, "They are not applauding me. They are applauding you." I swept my eyes over the auditorium and over the platform. I saw that Bishop Mouzon on the platform, and that Mr. Josephus Daniels sitting on the front row just below me, were not standing or applauding, and I realized that Gypsy Smith was correct, and arose and bowed my appreciation of this tribute given to me at the very time that the newsboys were crying that I had been indicted. On the following day I took a seat on the back row on the ground floor, and was surprised at the applause with which I was greeted, which continued until I came from the back row to the front.

During the difficult years of persecution and trial from 1931 to 1934 I was faced from time to time with the fact that a persistent effort was being made to stir up sentiment in the Church against me. I did not allow the knowledge of this fact to affect the performance of my duty as chairman of the Board of Temperance and Social Service. I attended annual conference sessions in various parts of the Church in 1932 and 1933, where I was greeted in every case with great audiences, and with great applause. Necessity compelled me to live at that time in Washington, but I was in Virginia and in North Carolina many times during those years. I found that Bishop Mouzon, especially after the death of Bishop Beauchamp, when he was placed in charge of the Virginia and Baltimore Conferences, did not hesitate to express his opinion that I should be retired at the next General Conference, and, indeed, he said in the presence of some of my friends that he would see to it that I was retired.

When the General Conference of 1934 met at Jackson, Mississippi, I was being tried on indictment for criminal conspiracy to violate the Corrupt Practices Act. The trial ended on Friday, April [27, 1934], with a verdict, which I knew would be given, of NOT GUILTY.

I wired immediately to Jackson, stating the result, and stating that I was leaving immediately for the General Conference. In the meanwhile, without waiting for any personal statement from me, the Committee on

Episcopacy had voted 42 to 28 for my superannuation, and I had this unfavorable action to face and to overcome. Personally, I had no doubt but that I would be able to overcome the unfavorable report and to secure a good majority in favor of my retention by the General Conference. But I realized that the matter must be handled with great care.

I arrived in Jackson on Sunday morning. That afternoon a number of my friends from different parts of the Church came to see me to find out what my attitude would be. I told them that I expected to ask for a hearing before the committee and state the facts as to my condition, and that I felt certain that I could secure a reversal of the unfavorable report.

On Monday afternoon, somewhat to my surprise, one of my best friends of many years' standing, Mr. W. W. [Milam], of the Baltimore Conference, came to see me. He told me that I knew what his own personal attitude was, that he thought, in view of the great persecution which I had endured, that the Church should take whatever action I desired as a proof of its loyalty to me, especially so since the civil courts had acquitted me, but he said that he had been requested by some persons who claimed to be friends of mine to come to urge me to go before the Committee on Episcopacy and request superannuation.

He said that Bishop Mouzon, who was the bishop in charge of Virginia and Baltimore, had had a long conference with him and had insisted that for the good of the Church he should use his influence with me to get me to ask for superannuation, that if I did not voluntarily do so, it would precipitate an unfortunate and possibly bitter discussion on the General Conference floor, which, Bishop Mouzon said, would of course result in my superannuation.

I asked Brother [Milam] whether he really thought, with his knowledge of all the facts, that I should make any such request. He said very frankly, "No, I do not think you ought to do so. I told those who asked me to come and see you, and Bishop Mouzon also, that I would come and make the statement to you which I have made, but that if you asked me for my advice, I would advise you not to ask for superannuation." I then said, "Certainly, I shall not ask for superannuation, but shall insist on being retained on the effective list."

Brother [Milam] made his report to Bishop Mouzon, and to others, and from that time until the taking of the vote my friends came to my room in great numbers and expressed their agreement with my decision. I went before the Committee on Episcopacy and stated the amount of

work which I had done since the General Conference of 1930, emphasized the great improvement in my health, as shown by my "graduation" from two crutches to a cane, and requested that I be retained on the effective list. The committee reversed its previous vote of 42 to 28 against me to a vote of 38 to 37 in favor of my continuance on the list of effective bishops, and ordered the report to be made to that effect.

IX. Prohibition, National and International, 1918-1924

1918-1919

AT THE GENERAL CONFERENCE which met in Atlanta, May, 2, 1918, it was generally thought that I would be elected as one of the bishops of the Church. As I have indicated at some length elsewhere in this book,¹ I had no ambition to be elected bishop; indeed I had serious misgivings as to where my duty lay, because of the effect which such an election and acceptance would have upon some of the activities which I was carrying on. I did not, however, think that it would make any special difference in the work which I was doing in connection with prohibition and other social reforms. I was insistent, as heretofore at previous General Conferences, that the General Conference should go on record in the strongest possible terms for the ratification and enforcement of the Eighteenth Amendment, and to that end prepared and had sent to the committee such resolutions. . . .²

I also advocated the appointment by the General Conference of a Commission on Temperance and Social Service, which should hold conferences and express the sentiments of the Church from time to time on social questions. The Conference agreed with that proposition and appointed a commission of seven but with no appropriation to carry on its work. The commission was composed of three preachers, three laymen, and one bishop. I was elected bishop and, after a great personal conflict, accepted. When I was elected, my record, as stated above, was known by the General Conference, as it was by my Virginia friends, for those who opposed my election set forth all the facts in my career up to that time.

When the Committee on Assignments made its first draft, I was

1. See pp. xi-xvii.

2. The Report of the Committee on Temperance assumed that ratification of the Eighteenth Amendment would have taken place by May, 1919, and stated, "We rejoice in unparalleled nationwide victories which have been won in the warfare against the liquor traffic and the social evil" (*Journal of Eighteenth General Conference*, Methodist Episcopal Church, South, 1918, p. 276).

put down for Brazil. When this assignment was noised abroad through the Conference, Dr. George R. Stuart, Mr. John R. Pepper, and some others went to Bishop Atkins, the chairman of the Committee on Duplicate Assignments, and Dr. Stuart in his usual vigorous style declared that such an assignment was contrary to good "horse sense," that the whole Conference knew that I was the superintendent of the Southern Assembly and chairman of the Legislative Committee of the Anti-Saloon League, and that I should be assigned to work where I could easily keep in touch with both those important interests. It was furthermore stated to the Committee that should the assignments be read out, a resolution would be offered on the floor of the General Conference protesting against such assignment and calling for a revision of the plan.³

The plan was revised, but I was sent nearly as far away as I could have been from [*sic*] the North American Continent. I was given the Northwest Texas, the New Mexico Conferences, and the work among the Mexicans in the United States and Mexico, causing much expenditure of time and money to go to Lake Junaluska and to Washington from my home, which was located, after consultation with the Board of Missions, at San Antonio, Texas. I was chairman of the Board of Temperance and Social Service, which position I held for sixteen years until the work of the board was divided among other agencies at the General Conference of 1934. While no appropriation was made for the work of the commission, authority was given to make special appeals for funds. This I did, and secured from friends of the cause sufficient funds to pay for the holding of meetings of the commission every summer at Lake Junaluska and for such secretarial work as was absolutely necessary. The functions of the commission were set forth in sweeping language:

To consider the demands of Temperance and Social Service upon our Church and our people; to formulate plans for the correlation of the various agencies of the Church in any way charged with these interests, and to plan for the more thorough instruction of our people and the direction and development of their activities.

It is perhaps as well to state here as anywhere else that the General Conference never did make any adequate appropriation to carry on the great work committed to the commission in the statement given above. The commission from the time of its establishment until its absorption was always cramped for the lack of funds to carry on adequate promotional work. It was never my thought as chairman of the commission to confine its activities to the question of prohibition, but at the very first meeting of the commission at Lake Junaluska, August 10, 1918, in

3. See pp. 213-214.

the statement adopted and sent out to the Annual Conferences, the commission declared that it

would emphasize the fact that the work of the Commission is not only not antagonistic to the great evangelistic aim of the Church of Jesus Christ, nor does it in any way minimize the preaching of the Gospel of Repentance and Faith, but the Gospel of Social Service as an application of the teaching of Jesus Christ our Lord to the activities of life in every sphere of human endeavor.

The work of the commission will be emphasized from time to time in chronological order.

When the General Conference adjourned, my first duty was to return to Blackstone for the closing of the work of the school year, and to lay plans for turning over the work to a successor who would carry on the work with success. At the close of commencement I went at once to Washington to make my report to President Wilson and later to Secretaries Baker and Daniels.

This conference was the longest I ever had with President Wilson on any subject. The attitude of the President was quite different from that when I had last seen him. While weighed down with responsibility, he showed the spirit of a man who, having taken the action which he believed to be right, was now eager to accomplish a great purpose. "More and more force" was his attitude; his questions were numberless about every phase of conditions in France and Great Britain. I thought that at heart he had a far greater admiration for the British than for the French, although he spoke in high praise of Marshal Foch. He fully approved the sweeping orders of General Pershing and his staff concerning moral conditions, and thanked me most graciously for the work which I had done. At parting he said, "When the war is over, we must make a new world," and his whole face lighted with his hope.

I resigned as superintendent of the Anti-Saloon League of Virginia, but at the urgent request of the Executive Committee I agreed to retain my membership on the Executive, the Legislative, and the Headquarters Committees, and have continued on the Executive Committee until [now].

On November 11, 1918, the Armistice was signed, which brought to an end all active troop operations. I did not know until the Armistice was declared how great had been my underlying concern, not to say anxiety, for my son James, who I knew was in the front line of battle as division chaplain of the First Division. I knew that while he was a chaplain, he was very often in the very midst of the hail of bullets and shells. There had appeared in the *Stars and Stripes*, the paper of the

American Expeditionary Force, an article in which reference was made to the work of "Rev. James Cannon III." It said:

"That new Chaplain of ours is no slouch either," said a man from the engineers. "Name's Cannon. Don't know where he comes from. Not a Catholic, I imagine. Don't know just what his Church is. Nobody does. He made a good many friends on hill 269. I guess you know it was the Engineers who [took] that little old hill, and a rotten hard fight it was for we haven't a lot of machine guns and hand-grenades and fancy things like you fellows have, just rifles and shovels for us. Well, that Chaplain, he was in the thick of it every minute. I will never forget him burying that officer. Dug the grave with one of those dinkey little Medical Department axes. Covered him over, dropped on his knees and whistled taps over the grave. That Chaplain doesn't know what fear is."

I suppose every father and mother who had a son in the army in France felt as did my wife and I—great personal relief that active warfare was over. And I think that those in authority were unwilling to take responsibility for the wounding or death of another soldier. I have always thought, however, that it could have been made one of the terms of the Armistice that a strong division of the Allied Armies should march through the Rhineland and Central Germany to Berlin and occupy the German capital until the treaty of peace was finally signed. Such action I have always thought would have had a most salutary effect upon the entire German nation, and upon the Kaiser and his war lords.

I had become strongly impressed by my contacts with the temperance workers in Great Britain and France that it was important to develop some form of international organization of a somewhat different order from the International Congress against Alcoholism. I discussed this matter very thoroughly with Dr. Ernest H. Cherrington, whom I considered to be a man of the broadest outlook in the temperance and prohibition work. He had already been giving much consideration to the same subject. A meeting of officers and workers of the Anti-Saloon League of America was called in November, 1918, at Columbus, Ohio. At that meeting a commission was appointed to arrange for a conference to represent the views of the Anti-Saloon League, and to develop sentiment for an international organization. Unfortunately, all the members of the commission appointed could not go to Europe; and the representatives of the League at the Conference held at Paris were Dr. Henry Beach Carre of Vanderbilt University, who was doing war work in France; Mr. L. B. Musgrove of Birmingham, Alabama, a member of the National Executive Committee; and I. I went as a representative

not only of the Anti-Saloon League, but as chairman of the commission of my Church. . . .

Before sailing I went to the session of the Virginia Conference at Charlottesville, and there with the almost certain assurance that national prohibition would be a reality before I spoke again at that Conference, in bidding farewell to my brethren with whom I had worked side by side for thirty years, I emphasized as strongly as I possibly could that the third step of the Anti-Saloon League program—law enforcement—would in my judgment be the most difficult, and that it was of vital importance that the state and national Anti-Saloon League should be maintained in full vigor. . . .

I sailed for Europe on the steamer *Caronia* on December 21, and after a delightful voyage with no fear of submarines landed in Liverpool in due time. My first work was to confer with the leading temperance workers of Great Britain and lay before them our plans for the Paris Conference. I told them I intended to ask Lord D'Abernon⁴ to preside at the conference, at which they were somewhat surprised, but I decided that it would be the wise thing to have representatives from all the different groups in Great Britain and on the Continent. I wanted to secure the greatest possible impact upon the Peace Conference for certain resolutions which I had prepared on shipboard. These resolutions, which were discussed and afterwards adopted with some slight changes in the Paris Conference, were as follows:

To provide for the complete and effective prohibition of the liquor traffic among those native races to which the Peace Conference will not accord the right to determine their own form of government, such prohibition to apply to all persons living within the territory inhabited by those native races.

To provide that no nation to which the Peace Conference accords the right of self-government shall be limited in any respect in its right to prohibit the manufacture, sale or importation of intoxicating liquors or narcotic drugs so that it will be impossible for any foreign government under the guise of any form of treaty agreement to impose upon any free people such traffic contrary to the expressed will of the people concerned.

To provide for absolute prohibition of the liquor traffic within the Republic of Liberia inasmuch as the liquor traffic in that Republic, owing to its location, is exceedingly destructive in its effect upon the native races of the adjacent countries.

In my discussion with the British and French temperance workers

4. Lord Edgar Vincent D'Abernon (1857-1941) was a British diplomat and M.P. He served as Ambassador to Berlin (1920-1926) and chairman of the Central Control Board (1915-1920); author of *Alcohol, Its Action on the Human Organism*.

I emphasized that all the groups—moderates and total abstainers—could unite in support of these resolutions, which I thought were entirely appropriate for insertion in the peace treaty. In preparing the invitation, however, to attend the International Temperance Conference in Paris I set forth three special objects of such a conference:

First: What temperance proposals should be laid before the Peace Conference for its consideration? Second: What special measures of defense against alcoholic excesses had been taken during the war, and what results had followed such measures? Third: What measures should be taken after the establishment of peace to carry on temperance work throughout the world? Also what efforts should be made to establish an International Bureau for accurate research and statistical information?

From my conferences with Lord D'Abernon in March, 1918, I thought that he would be greatly interested in the second object of the conference, as he had given a great deal of time to the work of the British Liquor Control Board and had secured very fine results. So after talking it over with Lord and Lady Astor, I went to see Lord D'Abernon and told him what we had in mind. After our conference he wrote me stating that he would be glad to comply with my request, and so I issued invitations to temperance and prohibition workers in Norway, Sweden, Finland, Denmark, Poland, Italy, Switzerland, France, Great Britain, Australia, New Zealand, Canada, and South Africa to attend the Conference to be held in Paris beginning on April 1, presided over by Lord D'Abernon.

This Conference continued for several days, and was rather unique in the freedom and range of the discussion. Dr. Bratt, the originator of the Bratt System in Sweden, had a full hearing. Lord D'Abernon presented with much detail the restrictive regulations which had been put in effect in England, the hours of sale having been reduced from sixteen to nineteen hours per day in some sections to two and a half hours in the middle of the day and three hours in the evening. This reduction of hours of sale, including the elimination of morning sales and of late night sales, had resulted in a great decline of convictions for drunkenness; in Great Britain from 235,000 in 1913 to 68,000 in 1917, and in Ireland from 54,000 to 22,000. There had been a corresponding decrease in the amount of foodstuffs used for brewing and distillation. The wine-growers and the advocates of wine-drinking presented their plan as a cure for the drinking of hard liquors, the French pointing out the great difference in the drunkenness in Normandy and Brittany, where spirits were largely used, and in the rest of France, where beer and wine were the drinks of the people. The Blue Cross,

the Good Templars, and the prohibition advocates presented the results obtained from total abstinence and prohibition.

The conference was practically unanimous in its appeal to the Peace Conference for adoption of the resolutions as indicted above. The delegates from the various countries interviewed the delegates from their own countries in favor of such action. I saw President Wilson personally twice during the conference and he readily promised his support to our proposal. On the second occasion Prime Minister Lloyd George was in the anteroom, and President Wilson called him in and he also gave hearty approval. . . .

Practically all the outstanding leaders of British, Irish, and continental temperance organizations were present at Paris. As the United States had just ratified the Eighteenth Amendment under the recognized leadership of the Anti-Saloon League and the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, and, as the League was the host of the Paris Conference, paying all the expense of the continental delegates, speakers for the League were accorded full opportunity to explain the reasons for the adoption of the Eighteenth Amendment and the scope of the new Prohibition Law in the United States. . . .

Acting upon correspondence from America with Dr. Cherrington, we sounded out the delegates on the question of going to the United States and Canada for the holding of a world-wide Prohibition Conference. Nearly all the delegates favored such a conference, and as a result arrangements were made for a conference which opened in Toronto, Canada, on May 22, 1919, and was adjourned from there to meet in Washington, D. C., on June 4, 1919.

This conference was attended by representatives from more than fifty countries. Official representatives from the leading temperance organizations in fifteen different nations were present and took part in the deliberations. The delegates, on June 7, 1919, organized the World League against Alcoholism, with a constitution which pledged the League to the same nonpartisan political attitude as that held by the Anti-Saloon League of America. Four joint presidents were elected: Miss Anna A. Gordon, U.S.A.; Dr. Robert Hercod, Lausanne, Switzerland; the Right Honorable Leif Jones, London, and Dr. Howard H. Russell, U.S.A. Dr. Ernest H. Cherrington was elected General Secretary, which position he has continued to hold down to the present time. Owing doubtless to my contacts with many of the delegates at the Paris Conference, I was elected chairman of the Executive Committee, which position, with a short interval of a year, I have held continuously until now.

The General Secretary, Dr. Cherrington, arranged very promptly for the opening of an office of the World League against Alcoholism in London, also for assistance and co-operation with the International Temperance Bureau at Lausanne, and shortly afterwards for representatives of the World League in the Scandinavian countries. As Dr. Cherrington was unable to find time to visit Europe, I, in connection with the Federal Council, the Life and Work and the Faith and Order Movements, visited the London office regularly every year for many years. It was admirably located at 69 Fleet Street, London, directly opposite the "Cheshire Cheese."

I have got a little ahead of my narrative in order to present all the facts concerning the Paris Conference together. Of course, we went almost immediately to France to see my son James Cannon III, and to accompany my daughter Virginia to Coblenz, the base from which the operations of both of my children were directed. I preached, as in 1918, every Sunday and on week days to the soldiers, and established regular headquarters in Paris at the small, well-kept, moderate-priced, conveniently located Atlantique Hotel, where I have stopped nearly every summer since that time. There I did my preliminary work for the April Conference, and then my daughter Lura Lee and I went back to England. . . .

Arrangements were made for me to speak in numerous places in Great Britain and Ireland, and I spoke, as I now recall, in Belfast and Dublin, Glasgow and Edinburgh, Hull, New Castle, Sheffield, York, Manchester, Reading, Plymouth, and a number of places in London and its suburbs.

The attitude of the British public generally was quite friendly in all places where I spoke in 1919. The people wanted to hear about American prohibition. I did not attempt to tell my audiences that they should adopt the American method, but I did tell them how we had fought the liquor traffic in America and what the adoption of the Eighteenth Amendment meant. The "Trade," as the liquor traffic is called in England, was of course very hostile, and attempted on a few occasions to heckle and to create disturbance. But in Edinburgh three men who attempted to interrupt were taken by six other men by head and heels and unceremoniously thrown from the building, and in Reading a man who persisted in interruptions was taken out by the police. Newspaper comments, while critical, were not vicious. The daily paper of Hull stated that "The Bishop's address at Thornton Hall was full of cogent reasoning and delivered with that incisiveness characteristic of great leaders of American thought." After all the addresses there were

many questions asked, as is common in British public meetings. The Manchester *Guardian* quoted from the address in Manchester as stating, "In the states we found the traffic entrenched behind the law. Fighting through every legislative channel, enlisting every religious body and organization, the Anti-Saloon League was not satisfied till it so altered the law that it became criminal to produce and to sell alcohol as a beverage."

At the close of my address at Oxford, where I had been introduced by President Carlisle as Bishop Cannon of Washington, a stately looking lady, evidently an Anglican, came to the platform and propounded the, to her, very puzzling question: "Well, what are you? Are you a canon, or are you a bishop?" and was apparently much relieved when she realized that no ecclesiastical impropriety had been committed but that my name was Cannon and my title was Bishop. . . .

I made many valuable contacts and some friendships in Great Britain in 1919. In some respects the most interesting person I met was Sir William Robertson Nicoll, the celebrated editor of the *British Weekly*, which was then in the heyday of its power and influence.⁵ He invited me to come out and spend the evening and take tea with him at Hampstead. He was lame and did not meet me at the door, but I was met by a serving woman who guided me carefully up the stairs and along the hallways to his study. Every available foot of floor space, except what was absolutely necessary for the feet of the walker, was covered with books, all with the back giving the title showing what was below. How many thousands of volumes there were I could not conjecture.

I have never met a man of greater versatility, nor one who expressed his views concerning subjects, and especially persons, with more care (I would not say caution). He had decided convictions and opinions, as all who read the *British Weekly* knew, and his support was greatly desired by British Prime Ministers. I am sorry to say that I met him only twice, as he died shortly afterward. I do not know of any commendation which I prized more highly than the one he printed in the *British Weekly* in which, after making some quotations from an article which I had written on the fight against the liquor traffic in Great Britain, he said: "Of all the able Americans who came over to speak in the Scotch local option campaign, the ablest seemed to me to be Bishop James Cannon, Jr."

. . . My Continental experiences, apart from the Paris Temperance Conference, were quite varied and unusual. I was in Paris for parts

5. Sir William Robertson Nicoll (1851-1923) edited the *British Weekly* (1886-1923) and was author of a number of books, most of them religious.

of several weeks, both before and after the Temperance Conference. I preached on Sunday, usually out in the camps of the Army of Occupation, as often as possible in the Coblenz area, where my son and daughter were stationed; occasionally at English-speaking Paris churches.

A commission was sent over from the Methodist Episcopal Church and the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, to investigate the postwar conditions. That commission consisted of Bishops W. F. Anderson, T. S. Henderson, and E. H. Hughes of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and Bishops James Atkins, W. R. Lambuth, and James Cannon, Jr., of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. Additional members of the commission were the Foreign Mission Secretaries, Drs. Frank Mason North and W. W. Pinson. My daughter, Lura Lee, and Mr. Stanley High, two secretaries to the party, furnished the young life. This commission visited sections in France and then went to Italy, where, under the direction of the Italian government itself, the commission was carried into the extreme northern part of the war zone between Italy and Austria over to the East as far as Trieste, and carried around Rome in a dirigible air machine, the first time I had ever been in any sort of air vehicle. It was a very roomy airship, and our party of about forty had ample room to walk around and to look at the "Eternal City" from the heavens above. It gave me the best idea of Rome that I had ever had, but I was quite content when the air journey came to an end. I much preferred to take the view from Monte Mario, a central part of which, overlooking St. Peter's and the Vatican Palace, had been bought by the Mission Board of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

Dr. Thomas Nelson Page, of Virginia, was the American ambassador at that time, and he entertained my daughter and me at the embassy and arranged with King Victor Emmanuel for a luncheon at the palace for our commission. The King is rather a small, inconspicuous-looking man, but very pleasant and democratic. The Queen is very handsome, but also received us without any kind of stiffness. Both Ambassador Page and King Victor Emmanuel were greatly interested in the prohibition situation in America. Dr. Page indulged in many hearty laughs at the maledictions which had been hurled at my head in letters which he had received from some of his Virginia friends.

Of course the matter of all-absorbing interest was the peace treaty. In the interviews I had with President Wilson concerning the prohibition features of the peace treaty, I ventured to ask some questions as to the progress which was being made on the treaty. At the first interview he seemed to be quite optimistic, giving me the impression that he hoped to get a treaty embodying the aims for which he had brought America

into the war. At the second interview, which was shortly before he called for the *George Washington* to carry him back to America, he was evidently under heavy strain. The French, under the leadership of Clemenceau, and the Italians, led by Orlando, had shown that their governments had very little idealism in their conception of a peace treaty; having fought in the war, they wanted the spoils of war. Lloyd George himself had all the idealism of a Welshman and gave President Wilson backing in a general way, but when the crisis finally came, the President was obliged to yield his views on many matters in order to have written into the treaty the Covenant of the League of Nations. That was the child for which he fought with all the tenacity and vigor of his being. He made the French and the Italians, and Lloyd George also, realize finally that without the League of Nations Covenant there would be no treaty by the United States.

The history of those days has been written by abler pens than mine, but I held then and I hold now, some years later, that the plan proposed by President Wilson, had it been ratified by the United States Senate, would have brought in an entirely new era in the life of the world, and would have prevented the development of the tragic, menacing conditions which once again prevail in Europe. The United States was the stabilizing influence in making the Versailles Treaty. She, together with Great Britain and her Dominions, would have been the great stabilizing influence in the League of Nations at Geneva. Incessant hours of labor and the terrific strain of those treaty-shaping days sapped very greatly the vitality of President Wilson and had much to do with his breakdown on his western speaking trip in the United States.

On our return to London we found awaiting us a very cordial, not to say pressing invitation from Rosalind, Countess of Carlisle,⁶ and her daughter, Lady Aurea Howard, whom I had met in 1913, to come and visit them at Castle Howard, the ancestral seat of the Howards in Yorkshire. As the Countess of Carlisle was the President of the World's Woman's Christian Temperance Union and had been an active temperance worker all her life, I was glad to accept the invitation.

We spent three days at Castle Howard. I found the Countess, although eighty-four years old, quite vigorous mentally, keenly alive to every development of the temperance work. I had been told, almost warned, that I must be careful as the Countess was not accustomed to any contradiction. Whatever may have been her habit with others,

6. Rosalind Frances, Countess of Carlisle (1845-1921), was a Liberal in politics, a suffragette, an enthusiastic temperance worker, and headed the National British Women's Temperance Movement from 1903.

to both my daughter and me she was simply a bundle of interrogation points, and wanted to know our opinions, whether they agreed with hers or not. I had the feeling that she rather enjoyed talking to people who forgot that she was a countess, and answered in straightforward American fashion. She had never met Major or Lady Astor personally, but had followed their open expressions or opposition to the "trade." She did not favor, however, Major Astor's proposed Liquor Purchase Bill, but thought the fight should be made for local-option laws such as Mr. Asquith, the Prime Minister, had granted to Scotland.

The following year the Countess wrote me that she had decided to resign as president of the World's Woman's Christian Temperance Union and thought that the presidency should go to the United States. On receiving that letter, I wrote her at once, stating:

I am so greatly interested in all matters pertaining to the prohibition movement throughout the world, I venture to insist that in my judgment it will be far better for the world-wide movement if the presidency of the World's Woman's Christian Temperance Union remains in Great Britain, and the first vice-presidency in the United States. I say this not as a matter of impulse, but as a conviction, based upon the knowledge I have gained of conditions both in Europe and America.

I received in reply a letter from Miss Agnes Slack, who acted somewhat as her secretary sometimes, stating that perhaps I was right as to the presidency remaining in Great Britain, but that she thought she should resign. This purpose she carried out, but on a visit to her daughter, Lady Cecelia Roberts, in 1920 I urged, and I think persuaded her to accept the position which her mother had vacated.

On my return to the United States I found it necessary that the Legislative Committee should plunge at once into work to secure the passage of a satisfactory law-enforcement law. This law, later known as the Volstead Act, was drafted by a committee of lawyers, mostly Anti-Saloon League officials, headed by Dr. Wayne Wheeler.⁷ From my experience in drafting the Mapp Law in Virginia I was not satisfied with the law, because I did not think it met the needs of national prohibition enforcement, and [felt] that it contained some ambiguous sections.

Dr. Wheeler was somewhat inclined to forget that, while he was attorney for the league, there was an active Legislative Committee, and

7. See p. 118 n. 5.

there was still a Legislative Superintendent other than himself. He began to take some actions independent of the committee similar to those which had been criticized in Dr. Dinwiddie in earlier years. He manifested somewhat of a disinclination to do teamwork. He was always amiable and accepted pleasantly objections which the committee made to his independent activity. But he began at that time to develop the feeling that he was responsible for the work at Washington, and that his views should be given controlling, indeed decisive, weight.

This ever-increasing conviction on the part of Dr. Wheeler that his views should be decisive led to frequent discussions at the meetings of the Legislative Committee on fundamental matters, upon which sometimes the committee took positive action, setting forth policies contrary to those which had been followed by Dr. Wheeler. After starting the reasons for his actions, Dr. Wheeler usually agreed, without any manifestation of pique or resentment, that the policy for the committee was, generally speaking, the wise policy, but that there were occasions when he could not consult the committee, and he was obliged to follow his own judgment as to what should be done in any particular case. As will be indicated later on, after Dr. Wheeler became Legislative Superintendent, as well as attorney, and the Republican party came into power, he adopted methods which he honestly believed to be wise and necessary for the successful maintenance of the Eighteenth Amendment, but which were partly responsible for the influences which contributed to its repeal.

At the meeting of the College of Bishops in May, 1919, as chairman of the Commission on Temperance and Social Service, I presented the report of the commission, as called for by the *Discipline*. The report declared that it would be most helpful "if the College of Bishops would, as the representatives of our Church, make emphatic deliverance on law-enforcement, worldwide prohibition and the ever-increasing necessity that the teaching of Jesus shall dominate in the social as well as the individual life of our people."

Our commission, during the first year of its life, gave public recognition to the great importance of the social and economic questions of the day, and sounded the note setting forth the only answer to the proper solution of those problems, which were emphasized year after year at the Temperance and Social Service Conferences held at Lake Junaluska and embodied in the appeal issued in 1927 "To the Industrial Leaders of the South."

On November 12, 1919, after a lingering illness, Senator Thomas S. Martin died. His death just at this juncture was a very great loss to

Virginia and to the nation. He was not a great orator, but he was a man of unusual clarity of thought, and clear, forcible, concise expression. His judgment of men and of political policies and of legislation was usually correct. He had distinct personal prejudices which he believed to be based upon pertinent facts. When his life in the United States Senate began, he was overshadowed at first by the eloquence of John W. Daniel, the senior Senator from Virginia, but he grew steadily in the esteem of his colleagues until he became recognized not only in the Senate, but in the House of Representatives as the strongest, safest leader among the Democrats on Capitol Hill, and he became by common consent the Democratic Floor Leader during the greater part of the Wilson administration.

I well recall meeting Congressman (later Senator) Carraway in the long corridor between the Senate and the House Chambers, and discussing with him the vote of the Southern representatives for submitting the Eighteenth Amendment. He told me quite frankly that he was too much of a States' Rights Democrat to vote for the resolution. I asked him if he thought that Arkansas believed in the states' rights any more than did Virginia. He said, "No." I replied that Virginia's senators and congressmen were going to vote almost unanimously for the submission of the resolution, and when he expressed some incredulity, I simply said to him, "Go and see Senator Martin." He replied without a moment's hesitation, "If Senator Martin is in favor of that resolution, I will guarantee you the vote of the entire Arkansas delegation." He went forthwith and saw Senator Martin, and when I saw him the next day, he said, "Martin says it is all right, and if Virginia can vote for it, Arkansas can."

My recollection is that Senator Martin advised President Wilson not to issue the appeal he did to the country in 1918 to elect a Democratic Congress, believing that it was bad strategy and that the country would be far more likely to elect a Democratic Congress if the President simply issued an appeal to elect a Congress which would support the vigorous conduct of the war to a victorious close.

Senator Martin had a great admiration and affection for the Honorable Henry D. Flood, Congressman from the Tenth Virginia District, and told me that he hoped Mr. Flood would succeed him in the Senate. But when Senator Martin died, Westmoreland Davis, who had been elected Governor in 1917 by the split in the dry forces, appointed Congressman Carter Glass, who had been for many years a bitter opponent of the Virginia political "Ring," of which Senator Martin was the acknowledged head.

1920

The year 1920 was one of the busiest years of my life. The Board of Missions at a special meeting in January, 1920, appointed a special committee composed of myself as chairman and of missionary workers in Belgium to visit Belgium, Czechoslovakia, and Poland to recommend what assistance the board could render to the needy people of those countries. So on March 13 I sailed for Europe with a double commission: to make the investigations desired by the Board of Missions, and to confer with Dr. Hercod, the leader of the European temperance workers, concerning the personnel and the attendance at the Fifteenth International Congress to be held in Washington in September.

Upon my arrival in London I went at once to see Lord and Lady Astor to get their viewpoint of the British situation. Baron William Waldorf Astor had died; and his son, Major Astor, had succeeded to the title and the peerage. Major Astor had endeavored to surrender his rights as a peer, but found there were no precedents for such action, so that he was obliged to resign his seat in the House of Commons, where he had already won a reputation as a safe, sane leader.

But for the fact that Lord Astor had thus been taken out of the House of Commons to the House of Lords, and his opportunity to propose or to support effectively social betterment and reform legislation was thereby greatly curtailed, I do not think Lady Astor would have contested for a seat in the House of Commons. But her election was not an accident or the result of a sudden burst of enthusiasm. She had been elected because her life and activities among the people of Plymouth had won not only their esteem and admiration, but they had confidence in both her policies and in her ability.

During this campaign Lady Astor made her famous reply to the opposing candidate. He shouted, "Much has been said about Lady Astor's six children. I have seven." With a good-natured laugh she called back, "I haven't done yet." To which he replied with evident admiration, "Neither have I."

Lady Astor's attitude toward the drink question is well-known, and she made that question the occasion for her maiden speech in the debate in the House of Commons on the question of the "Abolition of War-time Restrictions upon the Liberty of the Subjects in respect to the Strength, Supply and Consumption of Alcoholic Liquors." Of this speech Premier Lloyd George said, "It was fitting that the first speech ever delivered in the British Parliament by a woman should be on the subject of temperance. . . ."

Lady Astor declared in the very beginning of her work in Parliament that prohibition was not a partisan, political issue. It is exactly the position taken by the Anti-Saloon League of America and by the World League against Alcoholism.

The "trade" in Great Britain is like the liquor traffic in the United States in its morals and its manners. Its defenders in the debate endeavored to minimize and belittle Lady Astor's advocacy of the reform, and declared in reply "America is a very young state. They are, and I use the word without any offense, somewhat of a bastard race, and let me say with all respect they go off occasionally on a tangent."

The "trade" also attacked Lady Astor's position on the divorce bill. She realized, as do all other opponents of the liquor traffic, that she would be misrepresented, slandered, and vilified. But in her reply to her constituents at Plymouth to the attacks made upon her she showed she would not allow any form of slander and blackmail to swerve her from her genuine convictions.

These utterances by Lady Astor show that the sentiment of the prohibition workers of the United States concerning the liquor traffic was shared and openly declared by the American-born woman member of Parliament, and made St. James Square, London, the rallying point of the temperance forces of Great Britain on through the years down to the International Congress against Alcoholism in London in 1934, of which Congress Viscount Astor was the Honorary President, and Lady Astor the Honorary Hostess.

After conferring with the British members of the Executive Committee of the World League against Alcoholism, I went to Lausanne, where I met Dr. Hercod, and we started on a circular trip through the countries of Central Europe. We first saw President Seitz of Austria, himself a pronounced total abstainer. From there we went on to Germany and saw Dr. F. H. Otto Melle at Frankfurt, and Dr. Gonser at Berlin, representing the total abstainers and the moderates, respectively. . . .⁸

On my return to England I found the W.C.T.U. had arranged for me to speak at the City Temple and the Eastham Wesleyan Mission, and at the World W.C.T.U. Convention which was being held at Westminster Chapel, Buckingham Gate. But the thing that interested me most was an article in the *Times* of London [March 23, 1920] written by Professor Stephen Leacock, of McGill University, Montreal, assailing the motives and the effects of prohibition in the United States.

8. After leaving Germany, Cannon went to Poland, Czechoslovakia, the Netherlands, and Belgium. For details, see pp. 248-251.

Concerning this article the *Alliance News* declared that its contents and language would seem to indicate that one of his numerous comic essays on "Frenzied Fiction" had accidentally found its way in to the columns of the *Times*. Realizing that an article from a man of such literary prominence would be used by the enemies of prohibition, I sent a reply to which the *Times* gave full prominence on April 17. In my article I was given an opportunity, in answering the wild, almost comical assertions and mistakes of the Canadian humorist, to present the argument for national prohibition, the reasons why the American people had demanded the Eighteenth Amendment, and the results which had followed. I gave two quotations from men of widely different fields of activity.

In an editorial of the New York *Evening Journal*, January 17, 1919, William Randolph Hearst declared:

One hundred per cent efficiency has been added at one stroke to the people of America. Half the misery of half the people has been abolished. Strong drink has destroyed more each year than the World War destroyed. The suppression of the drink traffic is an expression of the higher morality upon which we are entering.

The Brooklyn *Daily Eagle* of February 26, 1920, stated:

Frank Vanderlip, the financier, President of the National City Bank of New York, in his speech at the Economics Club Dinner in Manhattan last night said, among other things: "With a true combination of moral insight and plain common sense we have amended our Constitution and have provided the greatest single economic factor looking toward material prosperity ever created by legislative enactment. I believe that the economic value of prohibition will eventually be an influence for the prosperity of society the like of which will amaze ourselves and the world.

These quotations showed very clearly the great possibilities of national prohibition as viewed by unprejudiced men before the era of lax federal enforcement began.

This reply to the Leacock article was highly appreciated by the temperance leaders of Great Britain. The *Alliance News* said: "It is a delightful castigation of the genial Canadian Bohemian." The *Methodist Recorder*, in an editorial, said:

On Saturday last Bishop Cannon of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, replied to Prof. Leacock. There is little left of the professor now that the Bishop has replied. Bishop Cannon has for seven years been Chairman of the National Legislative Committee of the Anti-Saloon League of America. He writes from the inside and handles his pen very prettily, indeed. The

letter is written in London. That masterly letter will earn him a hearing all over Great Britain and serve the cause. It is done skillfully, not after the blundering fashion of the humorist professor.

It was quite surprising that the *Licensed Trade News* in an article, entitled "Leacock v. Cannon," said:

A very pretty quarrel as it stands will be the verdict of the spectators of the tug war between Prof. Leacock and Bishop Cannon of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Washington. We all know Prof. Leacock's attitude toward prohibition. Last Saturday's *Times* contained a communication two and one-half columns long from Bishop Cannon who, on his arrival in London, hunted up the files of the *Times* in order the better to study Prof. Leacock on prohibition. Having fed upon him, he proceeds to flatten him out in fine style.

. . . On returning to Washington, I read the libelous attack made upon me by the *National Hotel and Travel Gazette* of Washington city, based upon my reply to Prof. Leacock. It was declared by the *Gazette* that:

Rev. James Cannon had been responsible for the loss of a great deal of money by his parishioners because of his positive statements as to the value of certain real estate in Richmond; that he had assured parishioners that they were gilt-edge investments and worth their weight in gold.

So disappointed and chagrined were the losers in the transaction that the minister lost his pulpit as well as the confidence of his parishioners.

As I had never been a pastor in the city of Richmond and had never lost my pulpit, the whole article was a libelous one and I promptly sued the publishers for libel. I believe very strongly in the apostolic injunction, "Let not your good be evilly spoken of." And had I permitted this vicious libel to remain unchallenged, it would shortly have been circulated over the country by my enemies. The prompt filing of a libel suit resulted in a complete backdown by the *Gazette*. It agreed to publish a retraction and an apology and to pay my lawyers' fees and court expenses. As I desired nothing but vindication, such settlement was made.

The Democratic National Convention met in San Francisco on June 28, 1920, with prohibition as one of the prominent issues. The Honorable William Jennings Bryan brought to the Platform Committee a plank which he denominated as "Bone Dry." It read as follows:

We heartily congratulate the Democratic Party on its splendid leadership in the submission and ratification of the Prohibition Amendment to the Federal Constitution, and we pledge the party to the effective endorsement

of the present Enforcement Law honestly and in good faith without any increase in the alcoholic content and without any weakening of any other of its provisions.

Tammany Hall, which was there in force with the Sachem Alfred Emanuel Smith present for the first time at a national convention, had as its champion W. Bourke Cockran,⁹ who presented the following plank:

The validity of the Eighteenth Amendment to the Constitution has been sustained by the Supreme Court and any law enacted under its authority must be enforced. In the interest of personal liberty, to conserve the rights of the states, we favor legislation under the Eighteenth Amendment allowing the manufacture and sale for home consumption only of cider, light wines, and beer, reserving to the various states power to fix any alcoholic content thereof other than is fixed by Congress, as may be demanded by the opinion of wishers [*sic*] of each locality.

Mr. Bryan spoke with great vigor and feeling for the adoption of his dry plank. He was handicapped in his advocacy by the belief on the part of very many delegates that his hope was to secure the adoption of the dry plank, and then put the convention in such a position that it would be obliged to nominate him as the only logical candidate with such a plank in the platform. I do not know what was . . . in Mr. Bryan's mind. I do know that the adoption of his plank would have made his nomination much more probable.

The advocates of the wet plank spoke with equal vigor, believing very fully that by adopting such a plank and by the nomination of the advocate of such a plank, the Democratic party would secure a large part of the wet vote in some of the pivotal states.

The Anti-Saloon League did not ask for a prohibition plank at either the Democratic or Republican conventions, but Dr. Wheeler, acting for the National Temperance Council, spoke at both conventions in favor of the following law enforcement plank:

We declare for the effective enforcement of the Eighteenth Amendment and laws enacted pursuant thereto as construed by the Supreme Court of the United States.

The representatives of the National Prohibition party were reported to have asked various delegates to introduce a Prohibition resolution on the floor of the convention. No one would agree to do so. Although the

9. W. Bourke Cockran (1854-1923) was active in the Democratic party until 1896. He turned Republican, however, at this time because of the Democratic party's stand on the gold issue and voted for McKinley. He returned to the Democratic party in 1900 because of the Republican party's support of imperialism. He served as a New York congressman from 1904 to 1909 and from 1921 to 1923.

Republican convention had refused to make any reference to prohibition in its platform, Dr. Wheeler came to San Francisco and urged the adoption of the law enforcement plank quoted above. I was opposed to any action by the Democratic convention, inasmuch as the Republican convention had taken none. And while I did not think Dr. Wheeler had any right to advocate the law enforcement plank, I decided not to oppose him as the chairman of the National Legislative Committee, but as chairman of the Commission of Temperance and Social Service of our Church. As my statement was the first open difference of opinion between Dr. Wheeler and myself, I shall give in full what I said to the Committee on Resolutions of the Democratic convention in 1920.

While I would have been pleased had both conventions adopted short law enforcement planks, yet after it failed of passage by the Republican convention, it was better for the prohibition cause that it should not be adopted by the Democratic convention, and I did not think Dr. Wheeler as a Republican should have called upon the Democratic convention to adopt a resolution which the Republican convention had refused to adopt. I believed that the greatest danger which faced the prohibition cause at the two conventions was that they might adopt substantially different planks concerning prohibition, and so make prohibition a question of party policy, thus destroying the solidarity and tremendous driving-power of our prohibition forces, making prohibition simply one of many issues in a partisan political campaign, instead of standing apart as a great economic, social, and moral question to be determined in the future, as in the past, by the nonpartisan vote of all the people, Republicans and Democrats alike. My statement emphasized that position:

I have been fighting the liquor traffic since boyhood, and have spoken before Sunday schools, temperance organizations, church meetings, town and city councils, legislative and congressional committees; but never until today have I appeared before a committee of a political convention on the subject of prohibition; and I should not be here today but for the fact that it has been reported that certain state conventions had voted to urge the adoption of a wet plank in the Democratic platform. I am not here today in the capacity of chairman of the Legislative Committee of the Anti-Saloon League of America, but as the chairman of the Commission on Temperance and Social Service of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, which Church has the third largest membership of the Protestant denominations of our country, and a larger proportion of Democratic voters than any other Protestant denomination, unless it be the Southern Baptists. As the representative of hundreds of thousands of Democrats, I protest to this Democratic committee against any action by this convention which will put a

wet label on the Democratic party, or brand it as the "wet" party of the country. The prohibition of the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors for beverage purposes is a great economic and social and moral issue. It has not been dealt with heretofore as a partisan political question. I have personally for thirty-five years participated in contests for local, state and national legislation, and in these contests I have never known any difference between Democrats and Republicans. Party lines have been absolutely ignored. The Eighteenth Amendment and the Volstead Act both received the vote of more than two-thirds of the members of both political parties in Congress. As Chairman of the Commission of a great Church, including in its membership both Republicans and Democrats, I insist that it is unwise to change the policy of the past and now make prohibition a matter of party creed. If gentlemen are opposed to the Eighteenth Amendment, let them follow the methods prescribed in the Constitution to secure its repeal. If gentlemen are opposed to the provisions of the Volstead Act, let them make their fight in Congress for the repeal or modification of that act. But as a voter in good standing in the Democratic party I most earnestly protest against the proposal to make this question a party issue, and to cause thousands of Democrats to hang their heads in shame because a wet brand has been put upon the Democratic party.

As I now recall, all the Southern senators, except the waspish Senator Glass of Virginia, spoke to me after the hearing and thanked me for making such a clear, emphatic statement, [saying] that they would vote against any statement in the platform, and that they were glad they would be able to quote me as opposed to Mr. Bryan's dry plank. Mr. Bryan led the fight on the floor of the convention for his dry plank, and Mr. Cockran for his wet plank. The vote was 762½ to 356 against the wet plank and 929½ to 155½ against the dry plank. Senator Glass, the chairman of the Resolutions Committee, in the closing speech on the adoption of the platform on the floor of the convention emphasized the fact that I had made a strong argument against the adoption of any plank in the platform on prohibition. After the vote was taken Mr. Bryan made his famous statement, "My heart is in the grave." I am sure that he did feel very strongly on the matter, and I am sure that he also thought that possibly the last chance that he would ever have for the Presidency went into the grave with his dry plank. He listened to my statement in the committee with evident disagreement and spoke of me as being an enemy, real, if not intentional, of prohibition. His attitude at the San Francisco convention emphasized my own personal conviction that Mr. Bryan could not get away from the hope that he could make prohibition a political asset, which view I

thought was perfectly natural on the part of a man who had been for years in the stress of political life.

In the campaign which followed preceding the election the Legislative Committee of the Anti-Saloon League, of which I was chairman, sent questions to both Senator Harding and Governor Cox concerning their attitude on prohibition. They stated to both candidates that the League would not endorse either of the candidates, but would simply publish their past records. In the letter to each candidate the statement was made: "In order that we may not misrepresent you we invite any comment on the enclosed record, or any additions thereto which you may see fit to make."

Senator Harding made prompt and favorable replies to the League questions. Governor Cox indicated an attitude of antagonism which culminated in delay in his reply until the last. I did not think that either man was a genuine prohibitionist, for Senator Harding had told me that he did not consider prohibition to be a moral issue, and that his attitude would be determined by the votes of the people of Ohio. Governor Cox had been positively antagonistic to prohibition legislation as governor of Ohio.

As the Democratic platform, however, strongly supported the position of President Wilson on the League of Nations, and Governor Cox declared himself for the platform, especially on that subject, I considered that issue to be of such importance that I voted for Cox and Roosevelt on that issue, believing that there was little choice between the two men on the prohibition question, except that Senator Harding would be more pliable, and Governor Cox more difficult when it came to matters of legislation. The election resulted in the defeat of Governor Cox, and the election of Senator Harding. On the morning after the election so deeply did I feel concerning President Wilson that I sent him the following telegram:

PRESIDENT WOODROW WILSON, WASHINGTON, D. C. Aristides banished. Paul beheaded. Christ crucified.—God bless you. JAMES CANNON, Jr.

I was quite surprised to receive an almost immediate reply as follows:

THE WHITE HOUSE, WASHINGTON, November 3, 1920. MY DEAR BISHOP CANNON: The President has received your telegram of November 3rd, and he asks me to thank you very warmly for your friendly interest. Sincerely yours, J. P. TUMULTY, *Secretary to the President*.

The rejection of the Versailles Treaty by the United States Senate had come as a great shock to the people of Europe. They had taken it for granted that President Wilson was representing the people of the United

States in the matter of the League of Nations and they could not understand the failure to ratify the peace treaty. This was shown by the difference in spirit and attitude manifested toward me in 1920 in prohibition addresses in Great Britain, especially in Scotland. I found that the people held that the United States had withdrawn its co-operation at a critical time in the world's history, and that we had left to the Allies, especially to Great Britain, the heavy burden and responsibility of the work of reconstruction of the shattered, well-nigh destroyed fabric of stable government in Europe. The refusal of our government to go to Geneva to bear its share of responsibility of the world's burdens had greatly affected the influence of Americans with the masses of the British people.

In all of my speeches, most of which were made in the open air, the heckling and interruptions were of an entirely different character from those of 1919. I was exhorted in vigorous, somewhat profane, and opprobrious language to go on back to America and stay there with the rest of my cowardly, money-loving, hypocritical countrymen.

At one or the largest gatherings on Sunday afternoon on the Albert Square, in the very heart of Dundee, the latent antagonism of the "trade" could not be restrained, and the wife of a public-house keeper, possessed with the shrillest voice I ever heard, opened fire. She denounced the selfish, cowardly, money-loving, thick-skinned Yankees, who had stayed out of the war in order to grab the trade of the world while Great Britain was fighting for liberty and who had come into the war only because we were afraid Germany would win and we would lose all the money due us by the Allied nations. She denounced Americans as a race of quitters and shirkers who as soon as the war was over had rushed back to their selfish money-getting, leaving Great Britain to carry the heavy end of the log. She purposely scarcely mentioned the liquor traffic, but denounced the American attitude toward the League of Nations. It was practically impossible to be heard while her shrill voice was shrieking out denunciations, and candor compels the statement that with my views on the League of Nations I could not make any personal defense of the position in which the United States had been placed by the Republican majority in the Senate.

I made in the summer and fall of 1920 about forty addresses on prohibition in Europe, chiefly in Great Britain and Ireland. In my former work in Scotland in 1919 my principal base of operation was the home of Mr. John Dobson, a wholesale dealer in fabrics in Glasgow. It was a delightful experience for my daughter and me to be entertained for a week in a typical Scotch home of a prosperous merchant. I do not propose to discount our proverbial Southern hospitality, but nothing could

have exceeded the attention paid us by the entire Dobson family. They were well-educated, well-read people, and up-to-date on the affairs of the world. . . .

In this . . . visit [1920] to Scotland, Dunfermline was the center of operations, the most of my addresses being made in Fifeshire. Mr. Andrew Carnegie, born in Dunfermline, had done so much for his native city that as an American I received a most hearty welcome, and large crowds attended the meetings. Several meetings were held in the coal-mining section with Kelty as the base of operations, where I was the guest at the manse of the Presbyterian pastor of the Church of Scotland. He was a cultured, sensible man without apparent prejudice, not especially enthusiastic on the subject of prohibition, not positive in his insistence on total abstinence, but he was a pleasant, genial host, and he and his sister, who kept house for him, took good care of me. . . .

Immediately upon my return to the United States I became submerged in committee meetings in connection with the Fifteenth International Congress against Alcoholism, which was held in Washington in the beautiful building of the Pan American Union, September 21-26, 1920. The scope of the congress is indicated by its name. It is a Congress against Alcoholism, not against Alcohol. Excellent papers were presented on the beer and wine question by Italian, Bohemian, and American experts, all of whom testified that beer and wine were a most prolific cause of alcoholism. From Great Britain, Scandinavia, Russia, Japan, China, South Africa, Australia, Mexico, South America, Canada, and the United States, strong earnest men and women of the highest character and intelligence from their respective countries joined in a testimony meeting concerning the ravages of alcoholism, the power of the liquor traffic, and the great difficulties in the way of reform, yet breathing a spirit of determination and hope which thrilled the Congress. From every other country there came a note of eager expectancy concerning the results of prohibition in the United States.

Following the address of welcome by Secretary of the Navy Josephus Daniels there were responses by the delegates from the foreign countries which were an unusual blending of gratitude for the part which the United States had played in the war and for her lead in legislation for social betterment. Dr. Ley, speaking for Belgium, declared that Belgium was bound to the United States by the ties of an infinite gratitude and bonds of undying thankfulness, mingled with palpitating interest in watching the great social experiment of prohibition.

The Chinese ambassador impressed upon the congress the great earnestness of his government to protect the Chinese people from opium

and liquor. The message from Czechoslovakia was sent directly by President Masaryk. "Czechoslovakia is loaded with gratitude to the great President of this country, gratitude to Congress, gratitude to the American people who have stood by the makers of the Czechoslovak Republic, and we are grateful that now you serve as an inspiration in the struggle of my people to conquer the demon Rum. . . ."

Under all the circumstances the most significant response was that of the British ambassador, Sir Auckland Geddes, probably the most outstanding man who has represented Great Britain for many years. He said:

I felt that this was an occasion upon which no one less than the head of the Embassy should reply to the welcome which has been extended to us by the United States. More especially is it my proud privilege to reply not only for Britain but for Australia, Canada, South Africa, New Zealand, India and British Colonies throughout the world. The whole British Empire at the present moment watches the great demonstration which the United States is giving of the power to control a force which undoubtedly in its uncontrolled way has worked great evil. It is one of the most interesting social phenomena which it is possible for any representative of any Government to observe and to report upon. I am especially charged by my Government to thank the Government of the United States of America for having called this Congress in this city at this time. My Government has instructed me that it must know exactly what is going on for fear we lag behind.

Representatives of other governments made similar statements which there is not space to quote. But the historic fact is that nearly every government represented in Washington instructed its embassy to be represented at the congress and to make report to its government of its proceedings. It indicated what a tremendous impression the ratification of the Eighteenth Amendment had made upon the whole civilized world. Every nation testified through its representatives that the liquor traffic was one of the greatest social evils, and in most cases expressed the hope that American prohibition would be successful. There was not one single deliverance from any quarter which intimated that society had not the right to protect itself from what was admittedly the greatest public nuisance.

The amazing effects which had followed the wartime prohibition measure, which became effective July 1, 1919, brought forth a frank statement from Comptroller Byrd S. Coler of New York, and while he was originally opposed to the Eighteenth Amendment, yet he now believed in it because of the beneficial results which he had seen had followed it. Mr. Coler in his address put his finger upon the real sensitive point in national prohibition legislation, namely, federal prohibition

enforcement. He called for greater activity and for the arrest of the prominent violators of the Prohibition Law, even if it included governors, senators, congressmen, and social and political leaders. He emphasized the great danger which became greater in later years, that enforcement officers should be guilty of complicity with violators of the Prohibition Law.

Mr. Coler was followed by the federal Prohibition Commissioner, John F. Kramer, former congressman from Ohio.¹⁰ Mr. Kramer was doubtless the ablest and most incorruptible, convinced prohibition enforcement officer the federal government ever had, except Col. Amos W. W. Woodcock.¹¹ Mr. Kramer's speech is noteworthy in that right in the beginning of national prohibition he emphasized the necessity for an ample appropriation to employ an adequate force of well-trained, efficient, incorruptible men, to be paid salaries in accordance with the character of the work and with the risks involved. He stated frankly that unless such a policy was adopted the prohibition law could not be effectively enforced.

The failure of the federal government to follow out these recommendations of Commissioner Kramer made in 1920, down to the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment, is the real cause of that repeal. The closing of breweries, distilleries, and saloons throughout the nation, thus wiping out the legalized liquor traffic, and putting upon it the brand of the criminal, was a body blow to the traffic. The results were shown at once in the reduction of crime, pauperism, insanity, and other evils which flow from the traffic. Had the federal government agreed to follow out the recommendations of Commissioner Kramer, the lawless traffic would never have become as daring, blatant, and widespread as it did. But when the traffic and its friends and advocates realized how small, even pitiful, were the sums which were being asked and appropriated to enforce the law throughout the nation, the slogan of the enemies of the Eighteenth Amendment came to be "You can't enforce the law," whereas the slogan of the government should have been from the beginning "The money and the men will be furnished to enforce the Eighteenth Amendment and the Volstead Act as well as any other federal laws are enforced."

I have already referred to the work done on the Volstead Law, and [to] my view that it was unsatisfactory in many particulars, but not in

10. John F. Kramer (1869-) served in the Ohio House of Representatives (1913-1917); but apparently never was a congressman; he was attorney-general of Ohio (1917-1919) and federal prohibition commissioner (1919-1921).

11. Amos W. W. Woodcock (1883-), lawyer from Salisbury, Maryland, was Director of the U. S. Bureau of Prohibition (1930-1933).

the main purpose of law. I was quite surprised, therefore, when after the passage of the law on October 27 it was vetoed by President Wilson, but was passed at once by an overwhelming majority over his veto. It was stated that the reason he vetoed the Volstead Act was that he did not think it should be enacted until the Wartime Prohibition Law had become ineffective. It was declared by the enemies of the Eighteenth Amendment that President Wilson was hostile to the amendment, and that he would so express himself at the Democratic convention in 1920. As a matter of fact, however, the men who claimed to represent President Wilson, Secretary Daniels and Senator Glass, both declared that he was not opposed to it and did not desire the convention to take any action against it.

The election of Senator Harding was on the whole gratifying to the Republican Anti-Saloon League leaders of Ohio, and especially to Dr. Wheeler. I had formed my estimate of President Harding by my contacts with him in the Senate. He did not impress me as having the mental caliber of the average President, but as a pleasant, sociable, genial politician. He had promised that he would stand for the enforcement of the law and for no hostile modification of the Volstead Act. I was chiefly concerned to know what would be his attitude toward adequate law enforcement.

At the very beginning of the Harding administration there emerged a very clear difference of view between Dr. Wheeler and me, which continued until Dr. Wheeler's death. I did not think that it was wise for the Anti-Saloon League to be considered by the President, by the Cabinet, by Congress, or by the country, as a political organization or as an adjunct in any way to any political party or as allied to any political federal administration. I therefore did not think it wise for any officer or worker of the League to be thought of as a dispenser of patronage of political officers, small or great. I thought that those charged with responsibility should state their views as to the kind of men they thought should be appointed to positions concerned with the enforcement of the prohibition law, and I thought it was entirely proper to secure the records of all men standing for election or appointment for such positions and to give to the voters, or to the appointing powers, such facts. But I did not think that the League officials or workers should regard themselves, or should be regarded as the advocates of the appointment of men for personal or political reasons; nor did I think that men desiring appointment, or congressmen desiring to secure the appointment of friends or supporters should look to any official of the League as a means to secure such appointment.

While Dr. Wheeler was simply the attorney of the Anti-Saloon League, his attitude on this matter was not at first so apparent, as his time was very largely taken up by work in the courts, in which he was both efficient and usually successful. His first victory was the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States on January 8, 1917, upholding the Webb-Kenyon Law. The second was the decision of the Supreme Court on December 15 upholding the constitutionality of the Wartime Prohibition Act. The third was the decision of the Supreme Court, January 5, 1920, holding that Congress has power to define intoxicating liquors, and on January 7, 1920, the decision that a two-thirds majority of Congress means two-thirds of a quorum present and voting. On June 7, 1920, the Supreme Court rendered a unanimous decision upholding both the validity of the Eighteenth Amendment and of the Volstead Enforcement Act.

In all of these Supreme Court cases, Dr. Wheeler rendered valuable service, presenting strong arguments in support of the contested legislation, but when he became Legislative Superintendent his flair for practical politics was so great that he could not sometimes resist the temptation to use the prestige and power of his position as Legislative Superintendent of the Anti-Saloon League to secure the making of appointments in which the Anti-Saloon League should [not] have expressed a choice.

These matters were discussed several times by Dr. Wheeler and myself, and I told him frankly and positively, without heat, as chairman of the National Legislative Committee, I could not approve of such a policy. More than once I brought the matter before the Legislative Committee for its consideration and action. In every case, as I recall, the committee disapproved of Dr. Wheeler's action. He agreed with the action of the Legislative Committee, pleading always special reasons to justify action in the cases brought before the committee, but agreed that the policy which I insisted upon was right.

However, when the committee adjourned, and the telephone in his office began to ring and letters to come in asking for League assistance in making an appointment, the temptation to exercise power was very great and hard to resist. By this policy Dr. Wheeler built up great personal power, which I believe he conscientiously thought that he used for the best interest of the Anti-Saloon League and of the prohibition cause. I believed to the contrary, that it undermined the real power of the League and contributed very largely to the situation which developed in later years.

1921-1922

In December, 1920, the Federal Council of Churches met in Boston. I was elected chairman of the Business Committee and presented to the committee, and later to the Council, resolutions concerning national prohibition. In . . . [these resolutions] I embodied the position which I have always taken concerning the enforcement of the Eighteenth Amendment, namely, that "an appropriation be made by Congress of whatever amount may be necessary for the effective enforcement of national prohibition." I have always held that the important question is not the amount of the money, but the efficient enforcement of the law at whatever cost.

Dr. Wheeler requested me to write to Senator Warren concerning the appropriation for the federal Prohibition Department, and I wrote Senator Warren a letter embodying the resolution adopted by the Federal Council, and emphasized the fact that the amount which the federal Prohibition Department had asked for did not provide for any increase in the present force, and urged that the Committee of Appropriations provide for efficient administration. I give the letter to Senator Warren in full:

Jan. 25, 1921

*Honorable Francis Warren
Chairman Committee on Appropriations
United States Senate,
Washington, D. C.*

DEAR SIR:

The moral and religious forces of our country are tremendously interested in the efficient nation-wide enforcement of the Eighteenth Amendment. They have always clearly understood that the value of the Eighteenth Amendment will depend upon its efficient enforcement.

The Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, which represents thirty-three protestant bodies with twenty million members, at the recent session in Boston, December 1-6, declared:

"Prohibition of the liquor traffic should be judged, not by results where the law is flagrantly violated, but by results in communities where the law has been efficiently enforced. In order that the will of the people in the adoption of the Eighteenth Amendment may be carried into effect, we urge that an appropriation be made by Congress of whatever amount may be necessary for the effective enforcement of National Prohibition."

The Council holds that it is fundamental that the Constitution be enforced. It will doubtless require a strong force of men and ample funds for a few years, but wherever the Prohibition Law is honestly enforced, it will be justified by its results.

The Federal Prohibition Department has asked for an appropriation of \$7,500.00 for the coming year. This amount does not provide for any increase

in the present force, which in the view of the Federal Council should be augmented to whatever extent is necessary to secure genuine nation-wide enforcement. The reduction by the House of Representatives of the amount asked for by the Department must of necessity result in less efficient administration.

As Chairman of the Business Committee of the Federal Council, and also as Chairman of the Commission on Temperance and Social Service of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, I present to you, as Chairman of the Committee on Appropriations of the United States Senate, the above statement of the attitude of the representatives of the moral and religious forces of our country, and urge that your Committee recommend as the very least, the amount requested by the Department of Prohibition for the enforcement of the law.

Yours sincerely,

JAMES CANNON, JR.

Dr. Wheeler was not satisfied and wrote me a note asking why I had not followed his suggestion in framing my letter to Senator Warren, asking for a definite amount in addition to the appropriation, ignoring the fact that I had told him that I would not write such a letter, as I thought the amount proposed by him was too trifling, and that he was wrong in not calling for whatever amount was necessary.

To this note from Dr. Wheeler I made the following reply:

BIRMINGHAM, ALA., Feb. 1, 1921

Dr. W. B. Wheeler,
30 Bliss Building
Washington, D. C.

DEAR DR. WHEELER:

Why do you not admit it when you are wrong? My letter to Senator Warren was perfectly plain. The only trouble was that you did not read my letter, but glanced over it, and because it was not drawn up in the style in which you usually write, you did not think it was as effective as it should have been. You are a lawyer and I am a minister. You are expected to present your views in a certain way, and I am not expected to present mine in the same way that you present yours. I may entirely agree with the method you use in presenting your views, but I would very probably think that method not to be suitable for the presentation of my views. I have received some very satisfactory replies from the Senators. The one from Senator Harris went to Washington and Maude may have shown it to you. I am enclosing it, however, and after reading it kindly return it for my files. You will notice that he states that he is willing to vote for even more than the Department requests.

I have been thinking considerably concerning the civil service proposition. I believe that it will be better for us to stand positively for the civil service,

insisting, however, upon the safeguards which we discussed, and take the risk of the safeguards not being inserted, other than to oppose the bringing of the Prohibition Department under the civil service because we cannot secure those safeguards. I think it will be difficult to justify the latter position before the country and with our friends.

I am now hoping to be in Washington in about a week. I shall be in Memphis at the Chisca Hotel until Thursday night.

With kind regards and best wishes, I am,

Yours sincerely,

JAMES CANNON, JR.

In this letter, in perfectly friendly fashion, I emphasized my position, and also declared my attitude toward the placing of the Prohibition Department under the Civil Service Commission.

With the incoming of the Harding administration a determined and successful effort, of which I did not approve, and in which I did not join, was made to remove the very efficient Prohibition Commissioner Kramer on the ground that he was a Democrat and that the Harding administration should have Republicans in positions of responsibility. By the provisions of the Volstead Act the Prohibition Enforcement Department was under the direction of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue. Dr. Wheeler urged me, as chairman of the Legislative Committee of the League, to write to the President advocating the appointment of a certain specified individual. This I declined to do, and decided that I would write the President as chairman of the Commission on Temperance and Social Service of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. This I did and on March 21, 1921, I sent the President the following letter:

March 21, 1921

*The President,
The White House
Washington, D. C.*

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:

I am writing you as Chairman of the Commission on Temperance and Social Service of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, the third largest Protestant denomination in the United States. As representing our Church, our Commission is intensely interested in the enforcement of the Eighteenth Amendment. We are satisfied that an overwhelming majority of the people of our country favor the Eighteenth Amendment, but a minority of several million in 119,000,000 can make a great deal of noise, and the liquor traffic is so blatant and defiant that many persons think that the protest against the Amendment is far more widespread and substantial than it really is.

Our Commission is satisfied that the fundamental issue at the present time is the matter of Law Enforcement. We joined in the appeal to the last

Congress to give adequate appropriations to the Prohibition Law. We are satisfied that a large majority of the coming Congress will favor adequate appropriations. Our chief concern at the present time is that Law Enforcement shall be in the hands of men who are entirely sympathetic with the Eighteenth Amendment. In short, we believe that the enforcement of the law should be in the hands of its friends and not in the hands of its enemies or former opponents. In view of the great importance of this matter to every home in the Republic, the Commission is appealing to you in the name of our great Church to appoint an outstanding, strong man as Internal Revenue Commissioner. Such an appointment will convince the nation that the President is behind the enforcement of the law, and will give added strength not only to every enforcement officer but to every sober, law-abiding citizen.

Trusting that you may have Divine Guidance in meeting all the great responsibilities pertaining to your office, I am,

Yours sincerely,

JAMES CANNON, JR.

*Chairman Commission on Temperance
and Social Service, Methodist
Episcopal Church, South.*

In this first letter to President Harding I emphasized, as to Senator Warren, that the fundamental issue was the matter of law enforcement, for which adequate appropriation should be made. To this letter I received from President Harding the following reply:

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON.

March 24, 1921

MY DEAR BISHOP CANNON:

The President has received your letter of March 21st, concerning the appointment of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, and he asks me to assure you that this matter will have very careful consideration.

The President appreciates most deeply your kindly personal suggestions.

Sincerely yours,

GEO. B. CHRISTIAN, JR.

Secretary to the President

To this position the President appointed the Honorable David H. Blair, of North Carolina.¹² In the meanwhile a movement had been started for the appointment of Major Roy A. Haynes as Prohibition Commissioner,¹³ and Dr. Wheeler, while at first openly giving it to be

12. David H. Blair (1868-1944), North Carolina lawyer and Republican, was Commissioner of Internal Revenue (1921-1929).

13. Roy A. Haynes (1881-1940), Ohio editor and businessman and active in the early prohibition campaigns, was Federal Prohibition Commissioner (1921-1927).

understood that he was taking no part in the fight for the appointment of Haynes, soon was going to the limit for Haynes's appointment; indeed, he went to see President Harding, and in a letter to him thanked him for his co-operation in securing the appointment of Major Haynes by Commissioner Blair.

Dr. Wheeler urged me to join with him in working for this appointment of Major Haynes. Such knowledge as I had of Major Haynes did not convince me that he had the qualities necessary for an able and efficient administrator of the prohibition law, and while my relations with him were always pleasant, yet I never approved of the appointment. Moreover, because I did not approve of the policy of Anti-Saloon League officials using their influence to secure the appointment of certain men, I declined to write Mr. Blair the kind of letter which Dr. Wheeler requested. As chairman of the commission of our Church, I did write to him as follows:

May 3, 1921

*Hon. David H. Blair,
Commissioner Internal Revenue,
Washington, D. C.*

MY DEAR MR. BLAIR:

I am writing you as Chairman of the Commission on Temperance and Social Service of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. The membership of this great Church, which is the third largest Protestant denomination in the United States, is intensely interested in the successful enforcement of the Eighteenth Amendment. We appreciate the fact that a Southern man of your standing and character is at the head of the department which is in charge of the enforcement of the Prohibition law. We know, however, that the Commissioner of Internal Revenue has heavy responsibilities in addition to those connected with the enforcement of Prohibition, and that it is absolutely necessary for him to place the direct responsibility for Prohibition enforcement in the hands of the Prohibition Commissioner.

May we not urge, therefore, in the name of our great body of ministers and laymen that a high grade man be chosen as Prohibition Commissioner. It goes without saying that the best enforcement will be obtained from a man who is himself sympathetic with the purpose and aims of the Eighteenth Amendment, and we most earnestly request that you find and appoint such a man.

Yours sincerely,

JAMES CANNON, JR.

*Chairman Commission on Temperance
and Social Service, Methodist
Episcopal Church, South.*

These letters are inserted to show that from the very beginning of Dr. Wheeler's activity in the distribution of federal patronage under the Republican administration I declined to take any part. I thought that from the time of the inauguration of President Harding to the time of Dr. Wheeler's death Dr. Wheeler acted as a partisan Republican rather than as a nonpolitical League officer. Many of my best Democratic friends in Congress told me frankly that, were it not that they were really in favor of prohibition measures, they would have openly resented Dr. Wheeler's very evident attitude of authority, if not dictatorship. I told Dr. Wheeler how difficult it was for me to answer the criticisms of these high-type Democrats, and he replied that they were unduly sensitive and too imaginative.

Notwithstanding these differences of opinion, my personal relations with Dr. Wheeler were always very pleasant, both with himself and with his family. We enjoyed each other's company socially, and except on points of difference in policy, as indicated above, we worked together, and whatever differences we had were discussed behind closed doors until the last public statement in 1927.

I defended Dr. Wheeler for many unjust attacks made upon him in Congress or elsewhere, notably from the vicious attack made by Senators Broussard and Thomas Watson on the floor of the Senate in July, 1921, concerning the amount of salary paid to Dr. Wheeler and the sources from which his salary came.¹⁴ In that letter which was made a part of the records of the Senate, as chairman of the commission of our Church, and chairman of the Legislative Committee of the Anti-Saloon League I said:

Inquiries made in Washington, or in any town of Louisiana or Georgia, would have informed you that public free-will offerings are made annually by nearly all Protestant churches to support the work of the Anti-Saloon League, including the salary of Dr. Wheeler, whose ability as a lawyer and trustworthiness as a sincere reform worker are recognized by the great moral forces of the nation, and whose salary for all his time, every day in the year, does not amount to more than that received by either of you gentlemen for the time you devote to your public duties as United States Senators with opportunities to add to your income by private work. I am glad to note that both the Rockefellers do subscribe to the work of the Anti-Saloon League, along with other thoughtful, progressive Protestant Christians who are in-

14. Broussard accused Wheeler on July 27, 1921, of attempting to name the enforcement officers both of the national government and the various states. Watson joined in the attack upon the Anti-Saloon League lobby. Broussard asserted that John D. Rockefeller was contributing to Wheeler's salary in order to keep an alcohol engine from replacing the gasoline (*Congressional Record*, Vol. 61, p. 4335).

tensely interested in the absolute overthrow of the abominable, destructive, insolent, law-defying liquor traffic and in the development of sobriety, industry, and morality. But the statement that the Rockfellers, or any other small group of men finance the Anti-Saloon League, or pay the salary of Dr. Wheeler is not only absolutely false, it is absurd.

So many of our ministers and supporters were taking the position that the fight was won, that the amendment was in the Constitution, and there to stay, that it was necessary no longer to keep up in full vigor our Anti-Saloon League state and national organizations, that, as chairman of the National Legislative Committee, I issued a statement emphasizing the danger of the situation and the duty of the hour. I declared in that statement:

There must be the same determination, same earnestness, same zeal for the enforcement of the law there was for its passage. The opposition is of the same general character today as in the past. It is blatant, defiant, covetous, even murderous, but it is becoming more localized. Some of the large cities, encouraged by such wet newspapers as the New York *World* and the Richmond *Times-Dispatch*, are hotbeds of lawlessness, but even there, if the forces of righteousness maintain their active organizations, insist upon adequate appropriations and efficient officers, the destruction of the lawless, outlawed traffic will finally follow that of the legalized traffic. The duty of the hour is law enforcement and to stimulate all proper activities to accomplish that great work the Anti-Saloon League is directing all the power of its splendid organization. Every law-abiding citizen should support the League in carrying on this great work.

I was not satisfied with the results which were being obtained by the Prohibition Department, and in company with Dr. Wheeler I went to see President Harding. He was cordial and pleasant, as always, and apparently quite sympathetic. But putting his hand on Dr. Wheeler's shoulder, he said, "Don't be impatient, Wayne. Rome was not built in a day. When the organization of the Department is perfected fully, you will be satisfied with the results."

Conditions, however, steadily grew worse in certain sections. Laxity in prohibition administration became notorious, drinking among federal enforcement officials and employees became the theme of comment on the floor of Congress. I stated to Dr. Wheeler that I was going to see the President and enter my protest against existing conditions. He agreed with me as to the necessity of a protest, but to my surprise seemed unwilling to accompany me, saying that he might see the President later.

I saw President Harding and reminded him of my previous visit and told him that I thought sufficient time had elapsed for the Prohibition

Department to show results. I presented to him, however, certain facts. The President frankly admitted that certain changes must be made in the methods and in the personnel of the department. He said that he was planning a trip to Alaska and that when he returned, he would give the matter his careful attention, but he never returned.

In September, 1921, I attended the International Congress against Alcoholism at Lausanne as one of the official delegates of our government. At that conference I met European temperance leaders and made report of conditions in the United States, emphasizing that the great question centered around the matter of securing efficient enforcement.

From Lausanne I went to the Ecumenical Methodist Conference in London to which I had been appointed as a delegate from the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. I had been requested by the Program Committee to deliver an address on "Temperance Reform in the United States of America," with a time limit of twenty minutes. At the end of the twenty minutes I frankly started that it was impossible to present the rest of the material in my address in less than ten minutes more, and much to my surprise even the "time-serving" Britishers voted for it. In that address I set forth as clearly as I could the "Why of National Prohibition," emphasizing the real underlying reason for the action of the American people. The kernel of my argument was:

The new social consciousness brushes aside without hesitation any claim of an individual to perform any action, or to enjoy any privilege, which act or privilege is a menace to the comfort, safety, or life of other members of the community to which he belongs. A man's private life ceases the moment any act of his life affects the lives of others, or of the social order of which, whether he likes it or not, he is an integral part. The more highly developed our civilization, the more necessary it is to define carefully and to protect the rights of every member of society. The great majority of the people of the United States believe that the liquor traffic is the enemy of the economic, social and moral life of the nation, that it ministers only to appetite and covetousness, and for the sake of removing this menace to the social order, to the life of the people as a whole, this great majority have agreed to surrender whatever personal rights they might have claimed to use intoxicating liquors for beverage purpose.

In short, the people of the United States have accepted the decision of the Supreme Court forty years ago, that the liquor traffic was the most prolific source of insanity, misery, vice, and crime, that it is indeed a public nuisance. The amount sold illegally is very small in comparison with the amount before prohibition, and this amount will steadily diminish as the Prohibition Enforcement Law is perfected and a corps of officials is developed which is loyal to the law and efficient in enforcement.

In this address I emphasized what I was emphasizing in the United States to President Harding and Commissioner Blair and to Senator Warren—the absolute necessity for a sufficient appropriation to secure efficient law enforcement.

Timed doubtless by the discussion of American prohibition at the Ecumenical Conference, the *Daily Mail*, the sensational sheet of British journalism at that time, published an attack concerning the operations of prohibition in America by Lord Northcliffe, the owner of the paper, with a leading editorial based on the Northcliffe article. In view of these publications the Ecumenical Conference adopted a resolution appointing a committee of five to prepare a statement in reply to the *Daily Mail* publications, and requesting the *Daily Mail* to publish the statement. The committee was composed of Dr. Clarence True Wilson, Professor Lyman Davis, Dr. T. A. Moore, Professor J. R. Hawkins, and myself as chairman. It fell to my lot to draft the reply which was approved by the Ecumenical Conference, but which, of course, with the usual lack of fairness of liquor publications, the *Daily Mail* refused to publish.

The statement emphasized especially the fact that Lord Northcliffe had made no thorough investigation of American prohibition, but what he had seen was confined almost entirely to New York City and Washington, and to his experiences with drinking friends, opponents and violators of the law. He accepted their action as characteristic of conditions throughout the nation, and their testimony as indisputable evidence. All his witnesses were some chauffeurs, printers, railway men, a manufacturing friend, a distinguished professor, and some few other individuals. His article contains no quotation from any law enforcement official or from any official reports, nor did he quote any individual by name. As a sample of the reckless statements made by Lord Northcliffe, he said that "crime taken as a whole was increased by leaps and bounds," whereas the facts are directly contrary. In 1919 the total arrests in Boston before prohibition were 88,593; in 1920, 47,682; for drunkenness and disorderly conduct, 1919, 52,682, in 1920, 16,487. For New York state the prison population for 1919 was 85,175; for 1920, 50,033.

Other most significant facts as to the good effect of prohibition were set forth, such as the great increase in deposits in savings banks, the average deposits increasing from \$549 in June, 1920, to \$580 in June, 1921, a gain of \$31 in average deposits; whereas business depression and unemployment had been far worse in 1921 than in 1920. The institutes for treatment of drink addicts state that in the twelve years before 1920 they treated more than 125,000 drinking men and women. In 1921 they did not average two patients a month, and 1921, within less than two

years after prohibition went into effect, there was not left a single state hospital for inebriates in the United States.

This report, as stated above, the *Daily Mail* refused to publish, and as it was a reply to a *Daily Mail* publication, the report got no circulation in the secular press of Great Britain. It was emphasized by the religious press as a full and sweeping answer to Lord Northcliffe's extravagant and unwarranted statement.

By the action of the General Conference of 1918, the first two years of the quadrennium were given over to what is known in the Church as the Centenary Movement, the last two years being given over to an educational campaign for the strengthening of our schools and colleges.

As one of the bishops of the Church in charge of mission fields, I was a member of the Executive Committee of the Centenary Movement and gave much time to speeches and conferences. Much to my surprise, I was elected chairman of the Educational Campaign Commission, owing, I suppose, to my successful work at Blackstone, and my activity on the General Board of Education. Following my election I moved my family to Nashville, but to my great surprise the College of Bishops added to my episcopal district the North Alabama and the Alabama Conferences, two of the largest Conferences in the connection. This addition to my episcopal district greatly curtailed my general activities in the educational campaign, as each bishop was expected to lead that work in his own episcopal district. It caused my removal to Birmingham, still farther away from Washington and New York, in both of which cities I was connected with important committees and commissions.

I was greatly pleased in coming to live in Alabama to receive a letter from an old friend and co-worker in Virginia, Dr. George H. Denny,¹⁵ who had been president of Washington and Lee University and a staunch supporter of educational advance and prohibition in Virginia. In view of the bitter, hostile criticisms which had been hurled at me it was encouraging to have this greeting.

I hope it is not too late to express to you my sense of satisfaction in your coming to this section of the country. I feel that you will in due time duplicate in the lower South the splendid constructive service you have rendered for so many years in Virginia. I remember you with great affection and loyalty. There is certainly need in many directions of such leadership as you are able

15. George H. Denny (1870-) was President of Washington and Lee (1901-1911); President of the University of Alabama (1912-1937, 1942-1943); and Chancellor of the University of Alabama (1937-1942, 1943-).

to render, and I want you to know that if I can help in any possible way you have only to command me. With regards and best wishes, believe me,

Your friend,

GEORGE H. DENNY,
University of Alabama.

March 24, 1921

As indicated elsewhere, Bishop Walter Lambuth, who had laid the foundations for our Congo Mission, but who had been never able to return to hold a Conference, and to organize the work, had requested me to go as his representative to the Congo. Our relations had always been cordial and of latter years close and intimate. We had found ourselves on the same side in nearly all matters of importance to the interests of the Church. In closing his letter urging me to go to the Congo in his stead, he simply said:

Much more might be said but I forebear. Blessings upon you and your great work. I continue to be profoundly thankful that in the Providence of God you have become one of the Bishops of our Church.

I was greatly perplexed by this appeal of Bishop Lambuth's. I had gone through the grind of an educational campaign in Alabama which had covered 126 places. I had just returned from a stay in Europe of six weeks. I had my five Conferences to hold. The General Conference of 1922 was near at hand.

But the matter which gave me chief concern was the efficient enforcement of the federal prohibition law. Under the lead of Alfred Emanuel Smith the forces of nullification were heading up for a major attack upon the enforcement of the Eighteenth Amendment in New York with its consequent repercussions throughout the nation. I hesitated to be absent from the country for four months, not because I doubted the earnest desire of Dr. Wheeler and the other League leaders for effective enforcement, but because I feared that Dr. Wheeler would not be willing to put added pressure on the Republican administration, lest he should lose his influence with the President, which he honestly believed was of the greatest importance to maintain.

However, on the death of Bishop Lambuth, it seemed almost the dying request of a highly honored friend that I should go to the Congo, and so after a final conference with the Executive Committee of the Anti-Saloon League I sailed once again for Europe, and after a conference in London with the Executive Committee of the World League against Alcoholism, and dinner with Lady Cecelia Roberts, the daughter of the Countess of Carlisle, now President of the British W.C.T.U., I

went to Antwerp and took ship for Matadi in the Belgian Congo. . . .¹⁶

I was greatly impressed with the similarity of conditions in South Africa to certain sections of the South. The overwhelming preponderance of Negroes made the liquor problem a very grave and perplexing one, and I emphasized the great assistance which had been rendered by the leading Negro educators and ministers in our prohibition work. While my reception was very hearty, yet I thought that the ministers, outside of the Methodist, were quite conservative in their views, and that prohibition legislation would proceed quite gradually.

During my absence prohibition had been the subject of discussion in almost all our daily and weekly papers because of the violent, bitter attacks made upon it by the secular press, which greatly resented the slash in their revenue by the elimination of liquor advertising, and the managers and editors of which for some reason, not easy to analyze, always oppose any restrictions upon activities of individuals affecting their appetites and lower sensual natures. In reply to these frequent, vicious, one-sided attacks the *Manufacturers' Record* brought out a special number in which it quoted the views of manufacturers of various kinds of products from all parts of the country.

Judge E. H. Gary, President of the United States Steel Corporation, stated briefly: "Yes, results have fully justified prohibition legislation." Henry Ford declared, "Alcohol and gasoline will not mix. Automobiles and saloons cannot exist side by side. One will destroy the other." Warren S. Stone, Grand Chief Brotherhood Locomotive Engineers, admirably summarized the situation, saying: "The longer I live and the more I see of it the more bitterly I am opposed to the entire question of the manufacture and sale of liquor because I look upon it as the basis of 90 per cent of the crime and criminals we have in the country today. I find a marked improvement in the saving of money, in the buying of homes and in the homelife of the workman, due to the fact that the women and children have more food, more clothing and better cars; the worker takes his family to the picture shows and to the park, where he formerly spent his evenings drinking and spending his money in the saloons. Of course, it is true we have the illicit manufacture and sale of liquor, largely among the leisure class, and much drunkenness among young people who desire to make the world believe that they are fast or tough. I think I can truthfully say that drunkenness has decreased 75 per cent among the workers."

Many similar statements by leading manufacturers could be quoted from these given by the *Manufacturers' Record*. They are all similar to those above. The *Manufacturers' Record* in the same issue speaks editori-

16. For details of this trip see pp. 220-224.

ally of the conflict which had already been started for the nullification of the prohibition law, led by Tammany Hall with Alfred Emanuel Smith as its chief spokesman. . . .

In a careful compilation of all replies received by the *Manufacturers' Record* the tabulation gave the following remarkable results in percentages:

For prohibition in some form 98½ per cent; against prohibition 1½ per cent; for strict prohibition 85.50 per cent; for beer and wine 7 per cent.

This overwhelming record of the attitude of the manufacturers and labor leaders of the country was in striking contrast to the attacks made just about the same time in the *Outlook* by Mr. H. L. Mencken, who stated:

In brief prohibition is a failure, and it grows a worse failure every day. There was a time shortly after the Eighteenth Amendment went into effect when it showed some promise of being a success, especially in the farming regions, but that was simply because the great majority of Americans had not been taking the thing seriously because they had been caught unawares by the extraordinarily drastic provisions of the Volstead Enforcement Act. The instant they realized what was upon them they applied the national ingenuity and the national talent for corruption to the problem, and in six months it was solved. No man, not even the most romantic prohibitionist, argues that there is any thing remotely resembling a general enforcement of prohibition today.

Why should 98.5 per cent of the leaders of industry in the nation declare positively for the continuance of prohibition if this voice from Baltimore is correct? While a shrewd observer, Mr. Mencken's range of vision was very limited, confined almost entirely to cities and to observation of the devices practiced by persons whom he knew, or heard of, to evade or violate the prohibition laws. His testimony, while doubtless entirely sincere, had small value as compared with the 98.5 per cent of the leaders mentioned above.

I was obliged to go immediately to the General Conference upon my return from Africa, having barely time to attend a meeting of the Legislative Committee of the Anti-Saloon League in Washington. At that meeting we discussed the inefficiency of the Prohibition Department and the need for a purging of the prohibition force of incompetent and unsympathetic employees. Dr. Wheeler did not think for some reason the time was opportune to see the President, and, as I was exceedingly pressed with other matters, I did not go myself, as I probably should have done.

The Commission on Temperance and Social Service met at Lake Junaluska on July 8 [1922], and gave sweeping condemnation of the utterance of Secretary of War John W. Weeks, as reported in the secular press, calling for an amendment to the Volstead Act, permitting light wines and beer, absolutely unmindful of the fact that the amendment proposed a distinct nullification of the Eighteenth Amendment, which prohibits the manufacture and sale of "all intoxicating beverages." The light wine and the beer wanted by Secretary Weeks was intoxicating, and yet he, a Cabinet officer, went out of his way to advocate such nullifying legislation.

As chairman of the commission I was instructed to communicate to President Harding the request of the commission that the members of his Cabinet refrain from public utterances which by implication favor the nullification of the Constitution. Therefore, before I sailed for Europe, on my way to New York I stopped in Washington and saw President Harding and presented to him the resolutions of our commission, emphasizing how such an open, unrebuked, and unexplained appeal for nullification would produce the impression throughout the country that Secretary Weeks was expressing the President's own views.

He took the matter more seriously than I had anticipated that he would, and said that he had hoped that the utterance of Secretary Weeks would not be given the prominence it had received and that he would talk with him about it. I then told him that our friends were not at all satisfied with the personnel of the Enforcement Department and with the results that were being obtained. He promised that he would call for Commissioner Haynes, and discuss the matter fully with him.¹⁷ . . .

In November, 1922, the second convention of the World League against Alcoholism was held at Toronto, Canada. This convention was largely attended by delegates from many foreign countries, with an especially large delegation, about eighteen, from my own state of Virginia. As chairman of the Executive Committee, I presented a report to the convention and preached in two Toronto churches to large audiences. This convention made a great impression upon Canada and encouraged temperance and prohibition workers all over the world. The work of the convention was organized by Dr. Ernest H. Cherrington, the General Secretary of the League, and by the Reverend Ben H. Spence,

17. At this point (summer of 1922) Cannon left for Europe, holding a meeting of the Executive Committee of the World League against Alcoholism in London and other conferences at Brussels, The Hague, Berlin, and Copenhagen. He returned to England, and from there made a three weeks tour of the Near East. See pp. 226-228 for details of the trip to the Near East.

General Secretary of the Dominion Alliance, to whose wise planning was attributable its great success.

On my return from Toronto I went to President Harding to present to him copies of the resolutions adopted by the World League Convention and to ask him to come out strongly in favor of law enforcement in his annual message to Congress. He expressed more real concern than I had ever seen him indicate about the attacks upon the personnel of the Prohibition Department. I told him very frankly that the fly in the ointment was permitting such appointments to be political, that wet Republican senators and congressmen were using these appointments to pay off political debts, especially as the appointments were not under civil service. At this (my last) interview with the President I was impressed more than ever with his amiability and his good intentions, but he was not strong enough to resist the influence of associates who sought to put their own before their country's good. . . .

A few days later the President appointed United States District Judge Sanford of Tennessee, well-known as a fearless judge, and an outstanding Christian character. I promptly wrote the President a letter in which I said:

May I take the liberty of congratulating you upon the announcement that you have appointed Judge Sanford of Tennessee to the vacancy on the bench of the Supreme Court. I believe Judge Sanford to be a more suitable appointment because he is from the Southern part of the country. I greatly appreciate your action in this matter.

I received a reply from the President the next day in which he wrote thanking me for writing my letter, stating that he was "very glad to know that the appointment of Judge Sanford meets with your approval."

So ended my relations with President Harding. . . .

1923-1924

Having been appointed as a delegate to the International Congress against Alcoholism, I attended [in the summer of 1923] the congress at Copenhagen, which was reported for our religious press by Bishop Anton Bast, from whose report it will be seen what a great impression was made upon the people of Demark by the clear statement of the prohibition position.

THE ANTI-ALCOHOL CONGRESS IN COPENHAGEN

The 17th International Anti-Alcohol Congress has been held in Copenhagen, 19th to 24th of August and in connection with this Congress the Executive Committee of the World League against Alcoholism held a Congress under the leadership of its Chairman, Bishop James Cannon, Jr., and Dr. Wheeler of Washington, D. C.

Thirty-four Nations were represented and there were between 600 and 700 delegates. Among the many languages the Scandinavian, English, French and German were mostly spoken.

The Danish Government took the protectorate of the congresses and appropriated a generous sum for the expenses. The Minister of Interior opened the Congress. Dr. Hercof of Lausanne was president of the Congress.

On my writing table I have piles of reports from the Congress with the most of the speeches taken down by shorthand and pictures of speakers. When I look over this immense stuff, I find that of course America and American representatives were the leading men and were objects of special honor and interest, because they came from the great country, which dared not only to fight but to prohibit the drink-evil, and therefore have the right to be heard and respected all over the world.

Bishop Cannon preached to a large crowd in our Jerusalem church Sunday morning and spoke at mass-meetings in the church Tuesday evening and in the Concert-palace Friday evening at which last session I had the honor to be his interpreter. Dr. Wheeler spoke at a mass-meeting in Jerusalem church Thursday evening and at the meeting in the Concert-palace. These two distinguished American gentlemen impressed the whole people very much with their clear, strong and logical arguments and with the immense statistical material, which they were able to bring forth. That Mr. Volstead all the time was a central figure at the Congresses and received much honor is a self-said thing.

According to my judgment the following was perhaps the most important meeting: The Sunday following the Congress Bishop Cannon accompanied me to our usual summer-meeting in Holback (a large community of merchants, farmers, and military). There was advertised a sermon by me, but when the pastor of our local church mounted the platform and faced a crowd of about 3,000 people, one of the most intelligent crowds I ever saw, and pronounced that Bishop Cannon was our honored guest and would give the first address on the subject: "Facts regarding prohibition in the U. S. of America" a broad smile, like sunshine, went over the thousands of faces. I have interpreted many speeches in my lifetime, but perhaps never one clearer, stronger and with a greater effect than that of Bishop Cannon at this occasion. It was logical, statistical, persuading and in its polite and eloquent form it just overwhelmed the whole crowd. And after an hour it was easier for me, than anytime before, at that summer-meeting to preach a gospel sermon to the people, which shows that the gospel of salvation and prohibition can go very well together. The daily papers had Bishop Cannon's speech *in extenso* and were full of praise over the meeting and especially of our distinguished American guest.

Following the Copenhagen Congress I filled various engagements in Geneva, Holland, Switzerland, Belgium, and Greece; and then at the invitation of the Scottish Committee I spoke for three days in Scotland,

all the addresses being delivered in Glasgow, and receiving a very fair report in the *Glasgow Herald*. My Sunday addresses were in two of the leading Presbyterian churches with large audiences; a Monday luncheon of temperance workers and general luncheon on Tuesday at the Liberal Club, with a packed house at the Lyric Theatre of over a thousand on Tuesday night completed my labors as a prohibition speaker in Scotland. The local-option law for Scotland is not a fair law, requiring as it does too large percentages of voters to call an election, and too large a majority to conclude an election.

Shortly after my addresses in Scotland the *Daily Telegraph*, one of the leading London daily papers, contained an editorial entitled "Rum-Running in America." This editorial denounced the part which British citizens were taking in the effort to circumvent the American prohibition law. I quote one paragraph:

But much more important is it to consider the attitude of that immense majority of Americans who either approve of prohibition as a National policy, or at least accept it as the law of the land, and discountenance the systematic evasion of it by any means. With them the feeling of indignation against the part played by certain of our own people is strong and is not diminished; and as support for prohibition increases in America—as all the indications suggest that it is doing—the position grows more serious.

After reading this editorial I wrote an article entitled "America and Prohibition," which the *Daily Telegraph* published in full to the extent of a column and one-half. This article asked for fair play by Great Britain in controlling rum-running as far as possible and emphasizing the character and standing of leading Americans who are upholding the prohibition law.

On my return to the United States, President Harding having died, I went to see President Calvin Coolidge, with whom I had only a slight acquaintance. Mr. Coolidge, as is well known, was a man not given to much speech. I emphasized, as chairman of the commission of our Church, and as chairman of the Legislative Committee of the Anti-Saloon League of America, the sentiment of both those bodies that the matter of real importance in the prohibition situation was the appropriation of sufficient money, and the employment of sufficient men for law enforcement. Mr. Coolidge stated that prohibition was a part of the Constitution, and the Constitution ought to be enforced, and that he would so express himself to those in the government who were charged with that matter. I have no doubt that he was genuinely interested, but as he did not manifest any special enthusiasm, I felt that it was really

a matter for congratulation when in his message to Congress he referred to prohibition as follows:

With this action on the part of the National Government, and the cooperation which is usually rendered by municipal and state authorities, prohibition should be made effective. Free government has no greater menace than disrespect for authority and continued violation of law. It is the duty of a citizen not only to observe the law but to let it be known that he is opposed to its violation.

I reported the result of my interview to Dr. Wheeler and told him very frankly that I thought that it was absolutely necessary that there be a new setup for the Prohibition Enforcement Department. I told him that I personally liked Major Haynes, but I did not think that he was the man for the place, and that a better equipped man should be found. Dr. Wheeler did not agree with my position. He seemed to think he could work so effectively through Major Haynes as to meet the needs of the situation, and he especially feared the appointment of someone with whom he would not have the same close relation.

I told him then, and told him again, at the convention in January, 1924, before the Legislative Committee, that I thought it hurtful, that it was commonly said that he was consulted about all the appointments in the Prohibition Department, and that he was considered as a real dispenser of federal patronage. Dr. Wheeler did not deny the correctness of the report, but when the Legislative Committee requested him to desist from such activity he agreed to do so, but as a matter of fact he really could not keep from having a voice in what were really political appointments.

In December, 1923, the College of Bishops of our Church met at San Antonio, and for the first time in its history made a deliverance on the law enforcement situation in the nation. It declared:

The Eighteenth Amendment prohibits the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors for beverage purposes. The Supreme Court of the United States will, therefore, necessarily declare unconstitutional all amendments to the Volstead Act proposing to legalize either manufacture or sale of intoxicating wine and beer. Traffic in intoxicants of any kind is lawless. Fear of prompt, adequate punishment, while not abolishing greatly diminishes lawlessness. Industrial, social, educational, moral and religious forces of the nation, led by its Christian citizenship, fought the legalized liquor traffic, securing National prohibition. The same great forces must unitedly fight with equal vigor and persistence the outlawed criminal traffic. . . . Above all there must be continued educational emphasis in the press, in the pulpit and in the schools from the evils of alcoholism and the destructive results of lawlessness upon the entire fabric of national life.

At the National Anti-Saloon League Convention held in Washington in January [1924] I made an address, or rather a report, as chairman of the National Legislative Committee, the keynote of which address was: "Today our fight is not for prohibition. It is distinctly and unequivocally a fight against lawlessness." In that address I once more emphasized what to me was from the beginning the important factor.

We must demand that whatever amount of money, and whatever force of men are necessary to subdue lawlessness be promptly provided. If ten million of dollars and twenty-five hundred men are not enough, then twenty million and five thousand men should be furnished; and if twenty million are not sufficient, then fifty million and ten thousand men—in short, whatever is found necessary must be furnished. The supreme law of the land is at stake. The interests are too great to permit our enemies to determine the amount of appropriation, the size of our enforcement army and the amount of our equipment with which we are to suppress lawlessness and win an abiding victory. . . .

The most prominent officials of the Anti-Saloon League at that time were Dr. Wheeler and Dr. Cherrington. Dr. Wheeler had charge of the work at Washington under the direction of the Legislative Committee. Washington was the sounding-board of the nation. Dr. Wheeler highly estimated the value of publicity for the prohibition cause rightly used. Like all other men he did not dislike being complimented, nor did he object to having ascribed to him the dominating leadership of the Anti-Saloon League of America. I think that he tried to use it as an effective asset for the prohibition cause. He . . . secured a very able assistant in the person of Mr. Edward B. Dunford,¹⁸ of Richmond, Virginia, who had been the attorney for my friend, the Reverend J. Sidney Peters, Commissioner of Prohibition for Virginia. Dr. Wheeler, after two or three years of experience with Mr. Dunford, declared concerning Mr. Dunford: "He has the most magnificent legal mind I have ever met."

Almost from the time of Mr. Dunford's coming to Washington Dr. Wheeler turned over the work of the legal department to him, and Mr. Dunford prepared innumerable briefs, going to state and federal courts, and even to the United States Supreme Court. All these briefs bore Dr. Wheeler's name, for Mr. Dunford has always been a man who has had no love for the limelight. But this vast amount of legal activity greatly added to Dr. Wheeler's prestige as head of the Washington office.

¹⁸ Edward Bradstreet Dunford (1890-), Richmond lawyer, was chief clerk and attorney for the Virginia Commission of Prohibition (1917-1921); and assistant attorney of the Anti-Saloon League of America (1921-1927).

Dr. Ernest H. Cherrington, as I have indicated elsewhere, was in my judgment the greatest personal factor in securing the adoption of the Eighteenth Amendment, by the constant stream of appropriate literature which rolled from the Westerville presses, and by the effective platform campaigns which were carried on under his management. Personally, I believed that Dr. Cherrington had played a more important part in the prohibition work in the nation than anyone else, and I approved of his methods more than I did of those of Dr. Wheeler. Owing to personal intimate contacts with President Harding, and his less intimate, but still influential contacts with President Coolidge and owing to his appearance as attorney before the Supreme Court and as Legislative Superintendent before Congress, Dr. Wheeler was more in the spotlight than was Dr. Cherrington.

My relations with both men were very cordial; indeed rather intimate. I had been on the Executive Committee of the League for twenty years, had been chairman of the Legislative Committee for ten years, had worked very pleasantly with Dr. Wheeler when he was a member of the Legislative Committee, and after he had become attorney and Legislative Superintendent, I talked to him very frankly, but without heat, concerning matters on which we greatly differed. Dr. Wheeler was an amiable man, and rarely expressed himself as positively as I did in our discussions. On this question, however, of the election of a national superintendent, we did speak very plainly. I told Dr. Wheeler that if he wanted to be General Superintendent, and would give up the work of Legislative Superintendent and Attorney, turning that over to Mr. Dunford, with such supervision as the General Superintendent might properly give, I would not oppose his election because I did not see how the League could get on without the great work that Dr. Cherrington was already doing, unless Dr. Cherrington had trained subordinates who could take up his work under his supervision as General Superintendent. But I told Dr. Wheeler that unless he would resign as Legislative Superintendent and Attorney, and accept the General Superintendency, he knew, as well as I knew, that the ablest man in the League for that position was Dr. Cherrington.

Wheeler apparently toyed with the idea of the General Superintendency for a while, but then flatly told me that he could not take it, that he could not give up his work at the Washington office. I then told him that my duty was clear: I must support Dr. Cherrington for the position of General Superintendent. He argued with me at great length concerning the great importance of the work which Dr. Cherrington was doing, and the great mistake it would be to take him out of that work

for which he was so conspicuously fitted and elect him to a position for which he was unfitted.

I told Dr. Wheeler plainly, but in all kindness, that I had given the matter a great deal of thought, that I had listened to all that he had to say, and that I thought that jealousy was at the bottom of his opposition to Dr. Cherrington's election; that if Dr. Cherrington should be made General Superintendent he would be much more active than Dr. Baker had been during the last four years, and that Dr. Wheeler himself feared that Dr. Cherrington would interfere with the work of the Washington office. Dr. Wheeler did not resent the statement of my analysis of the situation, simply saying that, of course, I was wrong, that he really thought that Cherrington should stay where he was. But he followed me with a letter of some length to which I replied, stating in my letter practically what I have indicated above.

Owing to the fact that before the call for the convention where the new superintendent was elected, I had been appointed by the commission of my own Church, and asked by the Commission on Relations with Religious Bodies in Europe of the Federal Council to attend the Copek Conference held in April [1924] in Birmingham, England, and had made all my arrangements to go and had speaking engagements in England, I was not present at that convention. But so strongly did I feel about the matter that I did not hesitate to write a letter expressing my views to the members of the Board of Directors.

As I was not present at the convention and do not know myself exactly what happened, I can only state that Dr. Wheeler was successful and prevented the election of Dr. Cherrington. Had I been present I would have voted and would have spoken to the Committee on Nominations for Dr. Cherrington's nomination.

I should not have spoken against Dr. F. Scott McBride¹⁹ because I had only an acquaintance with him as an active, successful state superintendent. When I returned from England, Dr. Wheeler was apprehensive lest I would antagonize Dr. McBride, but this I never did. The convention had not acted in accordance with my views, but I considered the question to be finally settled, and I thought it was my duty to co-operate to the fullest extent possible with the official setup, much as I disapproved of Dr. Wheeler's course. It never affected my personal relations with Dr. Wheeler, but I began to realize very fully that something must be done to cut the League loose from Republican

19. F. Scott McBride (1872-) was District Superintendent of the Anti-Saloon League of Illinois (1911-1912), State Superintendent (1912-1924), and General Superintendent of the Pennsylvania Anti-Saloon League (1936-1943).

political entanglement and secure a Prohibition Commissioner such as we had never had.

Earlier in the year, under a Tammany-controlled Court, Superintendent William H. Anderson, of the state of New York, had been convicted by a Tammany jury of third-degree forgery, which consisted in the altering of certain entries in the books of the Anti-Saloon League to make them conform to the facts.²⁰ I had talked over the case with Superintendent Anderson before it came to trial and advised him of the danger that he was in, but he did not seem to realize it. When the verdict was rendered, I was not at all surprised, and wrote Superintendent Anderson as follows:

Verdict not surprising; indeed it was practically a foregone conclusion that a pure-blooded American, representing Protestant moral forces, who has fearlessly, successfully fought beasts at Ephesus, be convicted on any charge, regardless of evidence in a court with a wet foreign-born Tammany District Attorney, absurdly pretending to protect from fraud the Anti-Saloon League constituency, the organization which he really hates and wishes to destroy, and with a jury in a city, where confessedly Satan's seat is, and where the attitude of the press as a whole encourages such a verdict by its sneering, ridiculing, nullifying attitude toward Constitutional prohibition and its advocates. The verdict simply emphasizes the un-American, liquor-controlled, nullifying attitude of the foreign-populated city called New York, the rulers of which city in their rage repealed the Mullan-Gage Law,²¹ and certainly greatly prefer to put prohibition advocates rather than liquor lawbreakers in jail. While like others, you have sometimes made mistakes, some small, some graver, no evidence has been presented that you have either defrauded any person, or the League, or that you have played the coward as did the Italian-born Pecora, who took advantage of his opportunities through you to spit venom in cowardly fashion at prohibition and its victorious advocates. It is absurd for anyone to assert that any proof was presented that you committed any real forgery.

In May, 1924, there was a hearing before the House Judiciary Committee in Washington on pending bills to legalize 2.75 beer. As chair-

20. Anderson was indicted on charges of grand larceny, forgery, and extortion. He was convicted only of the third-degree forgery charge even though testimony was damaging on other counts. He was never brought to trial on the other counts. The presiding judge received considerable praise for his conduct of the trial, particularly for his charge to the jury. There was divided reaction among the clergy and prohibition forces at the verdict (*New York Times*, Jan. 5 ff., 1924).

21. The Mullan-Gage Law became law April 4, 1921. It was designed to supplement the Volstead Act by state action, was actually similar to the Volstead Act, and carried severe penalties (*Laws of New York*, 144th Session, chaps. 155-157, pp. 502-521; for the problem of enforcement see Charles Merz, *The Dry Decade*, Doubleday, Garden City, N. Y., c. 1930, pp. 203 ff.). It was repealed in 1923.

man of the Legislative Committee, and chairman of the commission of our own Church, I appeared as one of the opponents of the proposed legislation, which legislation was reported unfavorably by the committee. During my testimony I was asked by a member of the committee whether I did not think there was more drinking among young men and women under prohibition. I replied that I thought very few high-school boys carried flasks in their hip-pockets, only those who did so out of a spirit of braggadocio adventure. Concerning the intoxicating effect of beer, which was disputed by my questioner, I declared that I had been somewhat out of contact with beer-drinkers since my college days, but that I knew from experience that some of my classmates used to get very drunk on beer.

I then emphasized that I thought the question of improper conduct, even immorality, among our young people was more significant than drinking, that the free moral life of France had greatly impressed the young men who had served overseas during the war and that their views toward women had been greatly affected by the French attitude toward sex life; that I thought the result has been the development of an alarming attitude among young women towards morals, and that things were being done which would not have been tolerated before the war.

The New York *Times* gave a headline in bold, black type to my testimony: "Declares Women Flout Old Morals. Bishop Cannon at House Beer Hearing Lays Lowering of Tone Here to French Influence. Sees Effect on Soldiers."

My statement were very sharply attacked by some persons who were doubtless sincere, but who had not made the investigation which I had made in 1918 and 1919. But anyone who does not know that the attitude of American society generally toward sexual relations was radically different before the war from that of the French people is simply ignorant of the facts, and anyone who does not know that there has been an amazing change in the American attitude since then has his eyes shut to what is going on about him. It still remains true, however, as Arthur Brisbane said in one of his last daily letters to the press, that one-fifth of all the births in France are illegitimate births. Out of 41,000 births last year, 9,000 were illegitimate. American social life has not yet descended quite that low.

The General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church met in Springfield, Massachusetts, in May, 1924. It had been my habit to attend the General Conference of that Church since 1904. The question of unification and also of prohibition were exceedingly live topics, and when I was called upon to speak I made references to both matters,

giving a very frank statement as to what I thought would happen in the event that a man should be nominated who did not favor the effective enforcement of the Eighteenth Amendment. This statement called out an editorial in the *New York Times* of May 18 in which the question was asked: "What sort of a Democrat is Bishop Cannon?" I wrote to the *Times* a reply to the editorial and inasmuch as it states the position which I held in 1924, four years before the nomination of Governor Smith, I think it is important as setting forth the position which I held all through those years.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE *NEW YORK Times*:

In your issue of May 18 there was an editorial, the greater part of which was a discussion of the statement made by the writer in the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church at Springfield. You ask: "What sort of Democrat is he (Bishop Cannon)?" Taking it for granted that the question is asked in good faith, an attempt will be made to answer. It will assist a correct understanding to quote, first, exactly what the writer said at Springfield. This was the language used:

"I may illustrate how this matter appears to me by reference to the political situation. I have always been a States'-rights, free-trade Democrat: I do not know or see how I could ever be a Republican, and yet the brand of 'Democrat' and 'Republican' is not so firmly fixed that there may not be circumstances when that brand temporarily fades away. For example, should the Democratic party, of which I am a member, nominate a man for President of the United States who does not favor the effective enforcement of the Eighteenth Amendment and of the Volstead Act, or of something even stronger than the Volstead Act for the enforcement of the Eighteenth Amendment; while I am a Democrat, I am not a lawbreaker, and should the Republican party nominate a man who stands squarely for the genuine, better enforcement of the Eighteenth Amendment than we have had up to this time, I think I know my people in the South well enough to say that in that event the issue with them would not be Democracy versus Republicanism; it would be law versus lawlessness. And if there should then be a 'solid South,' I am satisfied that it would be a solid South against liquor lawlessness. And I have enough confidence in you brethren sitting before me that you would take exactly that same action if the position should be reversed."

The writer was asked by the *New York Times* reporter whether in his political illustration he was referring to Governor Smith, and he replied that his statement included Governor Smith, or any other man, Democrat or Republican, who might be nominated by either party whose record had been such that it was thought that he would be an acceptable candidate to those who are opposed to the genuinely effective enforcement of the Eighteenth Amendment. He furthermore said that it was an insult to the Southern people to assert or imagine that they would vote blindly in mass formation for any

man who might be nominated by the Democratic party regardless of his attitude on great moral issues. Party loyalty holds in reference to great political principles, but party allegiance can neither be required nor expected when candidates are nominated who are generally understood to be opposed to the moral convictions of great masses of the voters, and especially is this true if they are nominated on the bare, bold assumption that political affiliations are so much more binding than moral convictions, that the Southern people will vote for a man who has the Democratic label on him, even though it is known that the very purpose of his nomination is to secure "wet" votes, and although it is well understood that the election of Governor Smith would be declared to be clear proof that the country has repudiated its decision on the question of prohibition, and it would be demanded, therefore, that the Volstead Act should be modified to meet the views of Governor Smith. The moral issue at stake is far greater than any political issue, and there are millions of Southern men and women who hold their allegiance to moral convictions to be far more binding than to purely political platforms.

I think this full statement indicates what the writer meant when he authorized the statement in *Who's Who* that he is an "Independent Democrat." The language, "I have always been a states'-rights, free-trade Democrat," was used at Springfield to emphasize as strongly as possible how utterly impossible it would be, politically speaking, for the writer to become a Republican. He is a states'-rights Democrat in the same sense that he believes that no duty or responsibility should be laid upon the federal government if the state can perform that duty equally as well, and he is certainly opposed to any effort on the part of the federal government to assert any authority on any matter, except as such authority is clearly conferred upon it by the Constitution. And, furthermore, he believes that no duty or responsibility should be laid upon the federal government, even by a constitutional amendment, unless it has become evident that the several states cannot perform that duty equally as well without the assistance of the general government. The writer would not have favored the Eighteenth Amendment, had he not become convinced that the concurrent co-operating powers of state and nation were necessary to abate the ever-increasing greed and lawlessness of the liquor traffic. Likewise the writer believes in free trade in the commonly accepted meaning of that term, as it was used by President Cleveland, and exemplified in the Wilson bill of the Cleveland administration, as opposed to the McKinley, the Aldrich and the present-day Fordney-McCumber tariff.

While a Democrat, therefore, on purely political issues, the writer is "independent" in the sense that he has always placed moral issues above purely political policies. The prohibition question is, in the thinking of many millions of the American people, at base a distinctly moral question. For this reason, the writer has opposed the effort to make prohibition a party question, whether in state or in nation. As superintendent of the Anti-Saloon League

of Virginia for many years (without salary), he insisted that state-wide prohibition was not a partisan but was a moral issue, and in Virginia the Democrats and Republicans have always worked side by side in securing prohibition legislation. Likewise, as chairman of the National Legislative Committee of the Anti-Saloon League of America, from the organization of that committee in 1913 to the present time, he has insisted that the prohibition question has no place in a political party platform, and at the Democratic convention in San Francisco he went before the Committee on Resolutions and opposed the adoption of either a wet or a dry plank. He holds that same view in reference to a prohibition plank in either party platform this year.

In his speech at Springfield, he endeavored to show how futile it would be for any political convention, of either party, to imagine that it could transcend its proper bounds and bind the members of the party not only on political issues, but on a great moral question by nominating a candidate for the Presidency who, whatever might be said to the contrary, would stand out before the nation as the embodiment of a direct attack upon what millions of voters honestly believe to be a paramount moral issue. Should Governor Smith be nominated by the Democratic convention, or President Butler by the Republican convention, in either case it would be taken by the country as a direct bid to secure the "wet" vote, and in the event of such nomination the issue would no longer be Democracy or Republicanism, but would be "dry" or "wet," the strengthening or the repeal of the Volstead Act, the rigid or the lax enforcement of the Eighteenth Amendment.

The writer repeats what he said at Springfield, that in that case, "If there should be a solid South, I am satisfied that it would be a solid South against liquor lawlessness." Kindly note that there is no declaration that there would be a solid South. The writer does not think that there would be. He is satisfied that there would be a greater break in the solid South than in 1922, when Kentucky and Tennessee broke away from the candidacy of Governor Cox; but he is convinced that if there should be a solid South at all, it would be a solid South against liquor lawlessness.

In an editorial in the *New York Times* some days ago there appeared the following statement: "There seems small chance of a better candidate than Governor Smith. The objections brought against him are thin and disingenuous."

The writer respectfully submits that while the objections against Governor Smith may, in the judgment of the Editor of the *Times*, be "thin," it is certainly a very sweeping implication of the motives of many millions of people to say that they are "disingenuous." They are no more disingenuous than is the attitude of these same millions of people on the question of prohibition. If they are honest and sincere in their support of prohibition, and of their desire that the Eighteenth Amendment shall be effectively enforced, then their objections to Governor Smith are not "disingenuous," but are absolutely sincere.

The Southern Baptist Convention, representing more than 3,000,000 communicants and 10,000,000 adherents, at its recent session in Atlanta, adopted a clear-cut resolution that "Southern Baptists will not support for President any candidate who is wet." This objection to "wetness" in Governor Smith may be "thin" but the editor of the *Times* will hardly indict this great convention as "disingenuous." Dry Southern Democrats will not agree to be driven like a herd of branded cattle into a corral which has "Democrat" over the entrance and has "wet" placarded all over the walls.

JAMES CANNON, JR.

WASHINGTON, D. C. June 2, 1924

On June 5, 1924, I wrote an identical letter to Senators Glass and Swanson, who were among the delegates-at-large to the Democratic convention. In this letter I said:

I am enclosing in this a page from the New York *Times* containing a statement made by me in response to the editorial in the *Times* of some days ago. I trust that this statement will not read me out of the Democratic party. If it does, I think, it will also read out a majority of the Southern dries. If you do not think it will read me out I hope you will still do your best to get me a ticket for the Convention. I am counting on the Virginia Senators to help me through.

Senator Swanson simply replied that I would get a ticket all right. But in view of what happened four years later, I am giving in full the letter from Senator Glass:

WASHINGTON, June 6, 1924

DEAR BISHOP CANNON:

Acknowledging yours of June 5, I may say if you have read yourself out of the Democratic party, you have done so only by stating what will inevitably ensue if the thing should happen of which your statement is a predicate. The people of this country are steadfast in their determination not to be cheated of the fruits of their victory over the liquor traffic. You may be sure that I have you in mind for a ticket to the National Convention.

Sincerely yours,
CARTER GLASS.

I wired Senator Glass as chairman of the Resolutions Committee as follows:

Will reach Herald Square Hotel Monday night. As chairman Temperance Commission Methodist Episcopal Church, South, and chairman National Legislative Committee Anti-Saloon League entirely satisfied with law enforcement plank Virginia convention. Am positively opposed as at San Francisco to dry plank such as advocated there by Bryan. Wish appear proper time before Committee on Resolutions to represent organizations indicated above.

As at the San Francisco Convention, there were presented wet and dry planks, but, as in 1920, I opposed the adoption of any prohibition plank. Mr. Bryan, while insisting on a dry plank, did not make the same kind of effort that he made at San Francisco, and the position which I took was adopted by the committee over against the strenuous opposition of the members committed to the candidacy of Governor Smith.

Dr. Wheeler and I had rooms at the Herald Square Hotel and were in continual communication. Dr. Wheeler and Mr. Bryan were close friends, and Dr. Wheeler tried to do his work through Mr. Bryan without criticism. As long as the fight persisted between William Gibbs McAdoo and Alfred Emanuel Smith, the activity of Dr. Wheeler was not especially criticized, although remarks were made in many quarters that a man who it was known would be aggressive in his support of President Coolidge for re-election should not try to be influential in the nomination of the Democratic candidate.

I suggested to Dr. Wheeler, indeed emphasized, that it would be better that I be in contact with the leaders of the Southern delegation and finally insisted positively that that must be the method followed. Dr. Wheeler was always unable to realize that his intense Republican partisanship was well known by the Democratic leaders, who, while recognizing his sincerity as a prohibitionist and his ability, did not think he was sufficiently impartial to try to influence the Democratic nominations for President, as he did at New York.

While the deadlock between McAdoo and Smith continued, the special session of our General Conference at Chattanooga was held. I felt that my duty was to the General Conference, and so left New York. But upon reaching Chattanooga I found telegrams from leading Southern Democrats urging me to return as promptly as possible; so immediately upon the adjournment of the General Conference I returned to New York, and upon my arrival discussed with Dr. Wheeler the situation as it had then developed.

We agreed that neither Smith nor McAdoo could be nominated. With this Dr. Wheeler was satisfied, but, as a Democrat, desiring the success of the Democratic party. I was not satisfied. I discussed with Dr. Wheeler the possibility of nominating Senator Thomas Walsh of Montana, who had shown great ability as permanent chairman of the convention, and whose dry views were unquestioned. Had Senator Walsh agreed to accept, I think he could have been nominated, and if he had done so, it would have been shown that the Protestant drys would vote for a dry Roman Catholic, and there would not have been

precipitated the issue four years later of attempting to drive Protestant drys to support a wet Roman Catholic. But Senator Walsh declined to make the race. I had endeavored to get some of my friends on the Virginia delegation, which was instructed to vote for the nomination of Senator Glass, to give the vote of the Virginia delegation to McAdoo for two or three ballots to see whether the delegates pledged to other favorite sons would follow suit. I said that if that should result in the nomination of McAdoo, he would be under obligation to the Virginia delegation; that if it did not have that result, it would make Mr. McAdoo feel under obligation to Virginia and would cause him to try to influence his delegates to vote for Senator Glass when the inevitable break came.

Mr. Bryan, learning, I think through Dr. Wheeler, of my proposal, expressed some doubts as to the prohibition views of Senator Glass. Whereupon, although I had no special reason to advocate the nomination of Senator Glass, I thought it unfair that he should be misrepresented on a question on which, to my knowledge, he had been consistent, and I so wrote very positively to Mr. Bryan. I am of the opinion that, had the Virginia delegation followed the suggestions which I made to some of the delegates, Senator Glass would have finally secured the support of enough men to have given him the nomination.

But it seemed impossible to bring together sufficient votes to nominate any man who was outstanding either as a wet or as a dry, and so the nomination finally went to the Honorable John W. Davis, a gentleman of high legal attainments and a polished speaker, but with no appeal in his candidacy except to the strict Democratic party vote.

Much to my surprise, at the close of the convention Dr. Wheeler handed to me a statement which he had prepared to send out, emphasizing the fact that he had been the man behind the scenes who had directed the strategy by which the nomination of a wet candidate had been defeated. He seemed unable to understand why I told him that such a statement ought not to be given out, and when he insisted, I was obliged to say to him, as chairman of the National Legislative Committee, that if the statement was not withheld from the press I would issue a statement repudiating his utterance as representative of the Anti-Saloon League. I then prepared a brief statement, which was the only statement issued by the Anti-Saloon League, as follows:

The wets have been defeated in their efforts to secure a wet plank or a wet candidate at the Democratic convention. There is no smell of beer or

wine in the Democratic platform, and the candidate is a strong advocate of law enforcement.

JAMES CANNON, JR., *Chairman*
Legislative Committee, Anti-Saloon League
of America.

I expressed myself more strongly to Dr. Wheeler than I had ever done before concerning the strong manifestation of his political partisanship, and his failure, as I saw it, to press important matters in order that he might keep on most friendly terms with the Republican administration. I reminded him that the overwhelming majorities which we were able to secure in Congress came from the Democratic South and Southwest, and that his all-too-open apparent satisfaction that the Democratic party would be defeated in the coming presidential election was not very politic, except in private interviews with his Republican friends.

There was not, however, any real personal breach between Dr. Wheeler and myself, but there was a more distinct understanding of what I thought was the proper attitude for the Legislative Superintendent of the Anti-Saloon League of America to hold, no matter what might be his personal political convictions.

The Southern Democrats, and all dry delegates at the New York convention, had such a demonstration there of the methods of Tammany Hall that the echoes of it went sounding down through the four years until 1928. The decision of the National Democratic Committee to hold a convention in New York was hailed as a great triumph by the Smith partisans, and it did furnish an opportunity for the galleries to attempt to bulldoze and intimidate the convention, which method was carried out to the full later on in Chicago in 1932.

The convention hall, Madison Square Garden, was so arranged as to seat about 14,000, and nearly one-half of the seats were under the control of the local committee. I had a seat in the gallery right near the Speaker's platform and could see the whole auditorium, floor and galleries. On the day on which Franklin D. Roosevelt nominated Alfred Emanuel Smith the galleries had been packed with more than three-fourths Tammanyites and Irish Catholics. There were Roman Catholic priests sitting at strategic points in the galleries. These galleries were absolutely under Roman Catholic Tammany domination. At a given signal they applauded. At another given signal they hooted and jeered in such fashion that it was evident that the whole thing was manipulated.

The climax was reached when William Jennings Bryan arose to speak on the question of putting in or leaving out of the platform the three words "Ku-Klux-Klan." Thirty-nine of the Committee on Res-

olutions favored a plank not mentioning the Ku-Klux-Klan, but a minority of fourteen brought in a resolution condemning that organization by name. The wiser heads tried to avoid the issue, but the Roman Catholics insisted on condemning the Klan specifically. Every speaker who defended the sincerity of the Klansmen was booed and hissed from the galleries, as I saw by signals given by the priests. Some defenders of the Klan referred to the Knights of Columbus also without mentioning the name.

The closing speaker was Mr. Bryan. When he took the platform at first he was cheered, but when the galleries found that he was opposed to mentioning the Klan by name they raised such an uproar that it was impossible for him to be heard. At this point Senator Walsh, although himself a staunch Roman Catholic, brought the convention to order and declared that if they were not permitted to continue their work without such interruptions from the galleries, he would entertain a motion to adjourn the convention and meet elsewhere to finish its work.

As even the Roman Catholic priests realized that he meant what he said, the demonstration calmed down and Mr. Bryan was allowed to finish his speech, but the intolerant attitude of the Irish Roman Catholics, led by their priests, was clearly manifest to all those who studied and understood the situation. Moreover, it was more evident than ever before what kind of methods Tammany used in dominating the city of New York.

Shortly after the adjournment of the convention, the *Catholic Union and Times*, of Buffalo, which was declared to be "the official paper of the diocese of Buffalo," came out with large type headlines streaming across the entire length of the top of the front page: "Without Any Question the Time Will Come When a Catholic Will Be President." Under this streaming headline an editorial followed, entitled: "Shall We Have a Catholic President?", and then saying:

The Democratic National Convention passed, as most thinking people expected it to pass, a compromise. We have nothing to say of the ticket nominated; it is so weak that even a little adverse puff from our own inconsiderable eminence might blow it away entirely. But—and here we are deeply interested—the question of a Catholic as a presidential nominee was one of the real questions at issue.

This question of a Catholic as presidential nominee was not precipitated by the Protestants in the New York convention. It was precipitated by the Roman Catholic Tammany demonstrations, which caused the country to think seriously of the meaning of Roman Catholic

domination. Personally, I did not think of it at that time as being a matter of national import, but as an ill-advised local effort at intimidation of the convention. The editorial utterance of the *Catholic Union and Times* indicated that in that Catholic editorial mind Roman Catholicism had become a real issue in the presidential campaign.

It had become increasingly evident that the Roman Catholic hierarchy was not only personally hostile to the Eighteenth Amendment, but that the leaders were making open attacks upon the prohibition law. Cardinal O'Connell of Boston had openly denounced the law, and Cardinal Hayes on his return from Rome had declared any law was blasphemous which said that the manufacture and sale of one of the elements used in the celebration of the Mass was a crime. Archbishop Curley of Baltimore was characteristically violent in some of his statements.

It is true that no official ban was ever put upon any priest in connection with local or national activity favoring prohibition. Father Peter J. O'Callaghan,²² one of the ablest, most clear-headed priests I ever knew, was well known to be thoroughly committed to national prohibition, and he continued to advocate it ably as president of the Catholic Total Abstinence Union up to the time of his sudden and lamented death. He was one of the best and truest friends I had in prohibition work, and fought for me ably and successfully in the critical years of 1930 and 1931. But I have always thought that he would have been promoted to high office in his Church, had it not been for his strong prohibition convictions.

Both the Democratic and Republican platforms and candidates having declared for the strict enforcement of the national prohibition law, the only issues of importance in the election were the fundamental differences between Democratic and Republican principles, and the question of American participation in the League of Nations. Of course, I naturally voted the Democratic ticket. The Anti-Saloon League was interested in the election of senators and congressmen, and in both the Senate and the House there was an increase in the majority for prohibition. There was a very bitter campaign in the state of Kentucky over the United States senatorship. I had made it my rule not to take part in such fights unless a statement of facts was involved. There was

22. Father Peter Joseph O'Callaghan (1866-1931) was unusually active in temperance organizations. For example, he was Director of the United Committee on War Temperance Activity in the Army and Navy; President of the Catholic Total Abstinence Union of America (1909-1916; re-elected in 1924); and delegate at various times to International Anti-Alcohol Congresses.

an outcry on the part of some Democrats in Kentucky that Dr. Wheeler as a Republican, was waging a personal warfare against Senator Stanley²³ in order to get rid of one of the strong Democratic leaders. I was appealed to by the Anti-Saloon League of Kentucky to make a statement, which I did as follows:

NEW ORLEANS, LA.

October 20, 1924

Supt. A. C. Graham
Louisville, Ky.

It has been the uniform policy of the Anti-Saloon League of America to give to the voters in congressional, senatorial and presidential elections the record of candidates in such elections on the prohibition question if there is any difference in said records. Following out this policy, having been asked for an official statement, I hereby declare that Hon. A. O. Stanley, a candidate for the United States Senate from the state of Kentucky, has been an open, aggressive opponent of the national prohibition law, and it is very desirable and important that a friend of prohibition legislation and of law enforcement be sent by Kentucky to the United States Senate for the coming term.

JAMES CANNON, JR.

Chairman Legislative Committee Anti-Saloon League of America.

This telegram was printed in the daily press and was given circulation by the Anti-Saloon League throughout the state with the declaration that it was well known that I was not a Republican or a Republican sympathizer, but a Democrat of unquestioned party allegiance. As a result the cry that Senator Stanley was being opposed because he was a leading Democrat was effectively squelched, and he was defeated.

The months of August and September, 1924, I spent in Europe, leaving home on August 6 and returning on October 10. I spent the first few days in London at the Fleet Street headquarters of the World League against Alcoholism. This office was established in 1920 as a clearing house for information for Great Britain, Ireland, South Africa, Australia, New Zealand, Egypt, India, and Rhodesia. Mr. William E. Johnson had been in charge of the office in a general way under the direction of Dr. Cherrington, the General Secretary of the League, but, as I was the chairman of the Executive Committee of the World League, I had myself given much attention to the Fleet Street activities, and always [there] had been very helpful conferences with the British representatives when I was in England.

23. August Owsley Stanley (1867-) was a Kentucky congressman (1903-1915); governor (1915-1919), and senator (1919-1925).

At the earnest request of Bishop Anton Bast, I had agreed to be present with him at the Scandinavian conferences, making in addition some special addresses in Norway, Sweden and Finland in connection with my visit. . . .

I always enjoyed mingling with the Scandinavian people. They are as well bred and as well educated as any people in Europe, and they were intensely concerned about the best methods of destroying the liquor traffic. It was the everlasting disgrace of Spain and France that they compelled the Norwegian government to agree to admit a large quantity of French and Spanish wines in exchange for Norwegian fish. The Norwegian government for a year or two bought the wines and paid for them out of the government revenues, but finally economic pressure became so strong that the Norwegian prohibition law was repealed.

After attending some World Alliance and Near East Conferences, I met with the Executive Committee of the International Congress at Lausanne, where I finally agreed that I would attend the German Prohibition Conference at Buchsburg in the principality of Schaumburg-Lippe. There I found a very enthusiastic convention of genuine German prohibitionists with Dr. Stracher as the leader. He had been greatly impressed by what he had seen of the workings of prohibition in America. Dr. Otto Melle of Frankfurt was also there, and after some conferences it was agreed that they would start an aggressive movement for prohibition in Germany. I therefore went from Buchsburg with Dr. Melle to Frankfurt, where I spoke before a large group of leaders. From there, at Melle's instance, I went over to Nuremberg and Vienna, finding at both places men of prominence and influence who believed that the time had come for more aggressive action against the liquor traffic.

Bishop John W. Neulsen, the resident Methodist Episcopal bishop for Central Europe, was with me at some of these meetings and gave his support and leadership. A short stay at Prague, where I renewed my acquaintance with President Masaryk and spoke to several sympathetic groups, closed my prohibition work on the Continent.

When I arrived in England, I found that our British friends were much disturbed by a statement made by the Bishop of Durham concerning American prohibition and the church, and asked me to make a reply, Lord Astor stating that he thought that he could secure publication of at least a column in the *Times*. The Bishop of Durham had made a most ill-tempered and unbalanced attack upon the moral Christian leadership of America as bigoted, fanatical, unwise, offending the conscience, taking exactly the position of the Roman Catholic leaders

in the United States. He had wound up by declaring that the real issue involved was "Was America free, or was America compulsorily sober?"

In my reply I emphasized "that the issue was selfish individualism versus the general welfare, that the Prohibition Law is not bigoted fanaticism, it is a splendid outstanding example of good common sense of the application to the social life of a great nation of St. Paul's teaching. 'We then that are strong ought to bear the infirmities of the weak.'"

I then quoted some statistics just published by the United Charities in Chicago covering the prohibition years.

Number of families receiving major service the year before prohibition, 7507; in 1923, 4,050—decrease of 45 per cent. Crime statistics: murders, 1919, 330; 1923, 270—18 per cent decrease. Burglaries, 1919, 6,108; 1923, 3,019. Robberies; 1919, 2,712; 1923, 1,402—50 per cent decrease in both items. Bank deposits; 1919, \$1,785,000,000; 1923, \$2,212,000,000—increase 35 per cent. Savings deposits of working people, 1919, \$359,000,000; 1923, \$613,000,000—increase of 66 per cent. [In 1919, 1806] single family houses built . . . [and] 292 apartment houses, accommodating 1,091 families; [in] 1923, 7,581 single family houses [built], [and] 9,952 apartment houses, accommodating 25,918 families.

Such results in a city like Chicago must indicate to unprejudiced minds despite all the exaggerated reports of smuggling, home-brewing and bootlegging, what has happened all over the United States. Such results fully indicate the sanity of the moral leadership of America against the aspersions of the Bishop of Durham.

My British friends were kind enough to say that they considered it to be a "smashing, unanswerable" reply. This reply is inserted at this point, however, in order to show that the record of the results of prohibition, with even the inefficient enforcement, were so great in the year 1924 as to amply justify the prohibition law.

The basis of the Bishop of Durham's speech was an attack made earlier in the year by Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler under unusual circumstances. He had been invited to speak at the University of Missouri Society Dinner in New York City, and violated all the courtesies of the occasion by making violent attack upon the prohibition law, declaring that "the Eighteenth Amendment itself is a violation of the principles upon which our government rests, and furthermore that high authority has argued strongly that the Eighteenth Amendment was never constitutionally and legally inserted in the Constitution at all."

This statement is Butlerian in its ex-cathedra nature. Both the attacks

which he made on the amendment had been met by the sweeping decision of the Supreme Court in 1919.²⁴ Dr. Butler furthermore declared that the Anti-Saloon League had a stranglehold on Congress and on state legislatures, absolutely ignoring the fact that it was because the liquor interests of the country had the stranglehold he spoke of upon Congress and the legislatures that the Eighteenth Amendment was adopted.

Dr. Butler declared further that "the American people would rise to their feet, and with burning moral indignation sweep from power this whole army of impostors, fanatics, and unworthy spokesman of the public will." And Dr. Butler declared with attempted cynicism: "When you hear a public officer or a candidate for elective office cry out with particular unction for law enforcement, tap him on the hip." Dr. Butler had evidently forgotten President Coolidge's message to Congress in December, 1923, which has been previously quoted. Certainly, he did not mean that anybody should tap President Coolidge on the hip because of that utterance. Dr. Butler's speech and violation of the proprieties was answered by the President of the University of Missouri briefly, but forcibly, directly condemning the position taken by a guest who had not been invited to discuss the prohibition question.

It so happened that this incident occurred before the death of the distinguished ex-President of Harvard University, Dr. Charles W. Eliot, who in a letter authorized for publication declared that President Butler's statement "will not dishearten dry advocates and will have no tendency whatever to prove that the American Constitutional Government has failed." Dr. Eliot further stated in his letter:

The testimony now being given by manufacturers, physicians, nurses and social workers as to the improvement in the condition of the population at large, which has taken place since the Eighteenth Amendment was adopted, is so potent that it will soon convince the great majority of the American population, both native and foreign, that the complete disuse of alcoholic drink will result in enormous benefits to any people that accomplish it.—The Prohibitory legislation is being better and better enforced, and its complete enforcement will follow after a time upon the appointment of enforcing officers on the merit system instead of the spoils system. The first batch of officers to enforce the prohibition legislation were all spoils men, that is, were appointed by members of the Senate and House of Representa-

24. The majority of the Supreme Court in *Hamilton vs. Kentucky Distillers Company* upheld the power of Congress to prohibit the traffic and stated that exercise of the power (without providing compensation) was not limited by the Fifth Amendment (*U.S. Reports*, Oct. 1919, pp. 146-152). It decided in *U. S. vs. Hill* (Jan. 13, 1911) that transportation of liquor upon the person and for personal use of an interstate passenger is interstate commerce, and Congress may forbid interstate transportation of liquor regardless of any state's law (*U. S. Reports*, Oct., 1918, pp. 420-428).

tives in their personal or party interests, and inevitably a large proportion of the men so appointed turned out to be either morally or mentally incompetent.

This letter of ex-President Eliot's was not only an effective reply to Dr. Butler, but it emphasized the very point which I had made with Dr. Wheeler some years before of the necessity of putting the Prohibition Department under the Civil Service rather than under the spoils system. Dr. Butler in his reply to Dr. Eliot could simply express his amazement that a man of President Eliot's great ability should stand for the Eighteenth Amendment, but he did not attempt to meet President Eliot's statement as to the facts.

X. Defending The Eighteenth Amendment 1925-1927

ON JANUARY 8, 1925, the Honorable Henry Morgenthau,¹ ex-Minister to Turkey, who had done special relief work for the Greeks and Armenians in which I had been brought in close contact with him, as I happened to be in New York, invited me to dinner on the occasion of his birthday. There I met for the first time Mr. Adolph Ochs, editor of the *New York Times*; Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., the Honorable Franklin D. Roosevelt, Mr. Felix Warburg, Mr. William Chase Osborn, Mr. Morgenthau's sons, and the wives of all.

While Mr. Morgenthau and I had been on opposite sides the preceding summer at the Madison Square Garden conflict, yet we had maintained our pleasant, friendly relations, and I had been often in his box during the convention. While the dinner was in full progress, Mr. Morgenthau, on whose right I was seated, said to me, "We are going to have some impromptu answers to a question which is to be passed around the table." The question was passed around on a slip of paper, and was as follows: "What is the greatest question before the world today?"

As soon as the question reached me, I recognized that I was in somewhat of a dilemma, and I had to do some quick thinking. I decided that the only proper thing to do was to say exactly what I thought. I remember now that, as I recall it, Mr. Roosevelt declared that the greatest question was "public education," and Mr. Rockefeller, "the adjustment of relations between capital and labor." When I arose Mr. Morgenthau smiled and said, "We all have an idea what you think," referring to my well-known stand on prohibition. I said in substance:

I highly respect the views of my Jewish friends—our host and many of his guests, but I am sure they will want me to speak frankly and will understand my position as a Christian minister. I think that Jesus of

1. Henry Morgenthau (1856-1946), lawyer, businessman, and philanthropist, was Ambassador to Turkey (1913-1916), chairman of the Finance Committee of the Democratic National Committee in 1912 and 1916, and chairman of the Greek Refugee Settlement Committee created by the League in 1923.

Nazareth was the greatest Jew of all time of whom the Jewish race should be exceedingly proud . . .

and I remember that Mr. Adolph Ochs, who was sitting directly opposite me, declared, "You are right in your estimate." I then said:

The greatest factor in the life and work of the world today is the steady, irresistible translation into the social order of the teaching of Jesus Christ concerning human brotherhood; of the obligations of neighborly love, including willing self-denial, and the implications and practical results which necessarily follow a sincere recognition of that fact—herein is implied the right of all men and women to a living wage, to limited hours of service, proper restrictions on child labor, a larger participation in the fruits of industry, better medical care, more parks and playgrounds, opportunity for self-culture and development, in short, whatever makes for a richer, fuller life. This same teaching also implies that men must not kill their fellow men, and so demands the abolition of aggressive war, the adoption of peaceful methods to settle international disputes, such as adherence to a World Court, and by the formation and maintenance of an international organization by whatever name it may be called to initiate and put into effect plans for the uplift of the entire social order throughout the world. The same teaching demands equal justice and opportunity for all persons, regardless of race, color, or sex, the complete abolition of the traffic in women and children for immoral purposes and for the traffic in narcotic drugs and intoxicating liquors. Indeed, these teachings have developed a new social conscience which declares and emphasizes the rights and duties of organized society as positively and with as sweeping and as imperative voice as it declares the duties of the individual. It is this social conscience which has demanded the adoption of the national prohibition law, and has put the brand of the outlaw upon the traffic in intoxicating liquors.

At the close of my statement Mr. Morgenthau said, "Thank you, Bishop. All the Jews at this table understand and fully appreciate your position, but I told you it would include prohibition."

In the latter part of January, 1925, the German prohibition leaders, following out the conferences of the preceding summer, held a meeting in Frankfurt and elected Dr. F. H. Otto Melle as the chairman of the organization. He immediately wrote to me. From his letter I quote the following:

We had the meeting in Frankfurt yesterday, January 24, to organize the movement. It was an event, I think, of historical significance. There was deep impression that the time had come for action, that something must be done. It promises to become the greatest movement against alcoholism we ever had in Germany and perhaps in Europe. Please, dear Bishop, do not leave me alone in this wonderful and great campaign. Please answer

immediately with a cable, stating that our American friends will send us their help immediately.

The result of the organization was the presentation to the Reichstag of an enormous petition with millions of names in favor of local-option laws.

Encouraged by the President's positive statement concerning the enforcement of prohibition, but discouraged as to the administration of the Prohibition Department, in the latter part of February I wrote to President Coolidge expressing to him my great concern as to the methods of the officials higher up in the government, especially that of Mr. Andrew Mellon, and urged that the President himself demand that the Treasury Department put into effect more effective methods and call for larger appropriations. To this letter I received the longest reply I ever received from any communication to President Coolidge.

February 27, 1925

MY DEAR BISHOP CANNON:

The President wishes me to thank you for the very frank expression of your judgment as conveyed to him by your letter of February 26. This is a complex problem which it would manifestly be impossible to discuss in detail in such a communication as this, but you may be sure of the President's appreciation of your courtesy in letting him have your views. Of course, his public utterances leave no doubt as to his deep interest in this matter. The President is more than grateful to you for your approval of his message on the matter of law enforcement.

I do not know what action was taken by President Coolidge, but whatever was taken was not effective in producing any greater activity from Secretary Mellon at that time.

In 1925 a number of my friends became concerned by knowledge of the fact that I had no home of my own and no prospect of ever being able to buy one, owing to the fact that I had spent all that I had ever made and saved in the effort to secure state-wide and national prohibition. They therefore organized a committee with the expressed purpose of buying a home for me. . . .

The committee prepared a letter which was sent to a number of my friends, which letter, and a letter of Dr. Ernest H. Cherrington, are as follows:

July 17, 1925

DEAR FRIEND:

A number of the friends of Bishop Cannon have been considering giving to him a testimonial of appreciation for the great service which he has rendered not only to Virginia, but to the Nation, by his wise leadership

in moral reform movements. A committee has been formed to handle this matter, and for the reasons so forcibly stated in the appended letter by Dr. Ernest H. Cherrington, a co-worker with Bishop Cannon for twenty years, the effort will be made to raise \$12,500 to purchase a home for him in the city of Washington.

We are writing to tell you of our plan, and to give you the opportunity to unite with us in this testimonial to our friend and fellow-worker, so that he may have a home in the capital city of the country, where he can render the same efficient service in moral reform movements as in the past. We trust that you find it possible, not only to make a contribution to the fund, but to co-operate actively with the committee in presenting the matter to other friends of Bishop Cannon with whom you come in contact.

Requesting an early reply, we are,

Sincerely yours,
J. W. HOUGH, *Treas.*

Letter from Dr. Ernest H. Cherrington:

WESTERVILLE, OHIO, May 8, 1925

Mr. J. W. Hough
Norfolk, Va.

DEAR BROTHER HOUGH:

I have been hoping for some time it might be possible for me to see you to have a conference with you and other friends concerning the matter of a Testimonial to Bishop Cannon, but as that seems impossible, I am writing.

I doubt if any of Bishop Cannon's friends have ever fully realized what a great part he has played in the struggle, not only for State Prohibition in Virginia, but for National Prohibition also, and I am confident that if the matter were brought to the attention of his many friends, and they were given an opportunity to co-operate in recognition of his great work, they would count it a rare privilege and pleasure. If I were to attempt to write to you what I know about Bishop Cannon's services and sacrifices in the interest of Prohibition, it would require a volume instead of a letter. Much of this, of course, you personally know about. You undoubtedly know that while Bishop Cannon was practically Superintendent of Virginia for nearly twenty years, and while he has been the principal adviser, and the Legislative Chairman of the Virginia League, yet he has never received any salary whatever for his work. This is true also in regard to his great work in connection with the National League and the World League against Alcoholism. He would have been paid a large yearly salary without any hesitation for his valuable services, had he agreed to accept it.

Moreover, during all these years when he was giving himself without stint and without salary, he made repeated and liberal contributions to the work of the State Anti-Saloon League, amounting in the aggregate to many thousands of dollars. You are also undoubtedly aware of the fact that Bishop Cannon personally furnished to the Richmond *Virginian*, which was exactly the same

as making a gift to the Temperance cause, over \$55,000, one-half of which had to be borrowed by him, in order that the work of the paper might continue without interruption. I happen to know that he is still making regular cur-tails on obligations which he negotiated to maintain the Richmond *Virginian*, the balance of which still amounts to around \$20,000. He has given his time, his energy, his counsel, his executive ability without any charge, and in addition has given not only practically all he had in the way of money or property, but indeed he mortgaged his financial future in order to contribute far more than he had available at the time for the benefit of our great cause. My candid opinion is that even his best friends in the Old Dominion will never begin to realize how great a contribution he has made to the cause of sobriety and public morality in the state and the nation. It is my deep conviction, founded upon intimate knowledge of what happened during the stirring and eventful period from 1913 to 1917, that but for the great sacrifice which was rendered by Bishop Cannon, the Eighteenth Amendment to the Constitution would not have been submitted by the Congress which did finally submit that Amendment.

It has been borne in upon me that Bishop Cannon's friends could not in any better way express the appreciation which I know they have for him than by providing for him and his wife a home in which they might spend the rest of their days. If Bishop Cannon were ready to retire from active life, the ideal thing undoubtedly would be to have a home in Old Virginia. But Bishop Cannon is far from the point of retiring, and his activities and services have been extended in such a way during recent years, and his relationships to the entire Protestant Church and to Moral Reform Movements have been so enlarged, and the demands upon him from these various Church and reform forces are of such a character that the amount of home life which he can enjoy in the future will depend very largely upon the location of his home.

Taking all these important factors into account, I am very sure from my knowledge of Bishop Cannon's state, national and international work that the very best possible location for his home is in the City of Washington; especially in view of the increasing activities of the World League against Alcoholism, and his vital relationship to that organization it is important that he be located there. He should have a home near the Capitol Building and as near the Union Railroad Station as possible, other things being equal. When I first considered this matter about two years ago, I did not think suitable property could be secured at less than \$25,000. I now believe that it can be bought for around \$15,000.

Of course, I understand that if what I am talking about is to be done, there will need to be a committee chosen for the purpose. I trust that Bishop Cannon's Virginia friends will shape up such a committee at an early date, and if I can be of any service on that committee I shall be glad to do so.

With kindest personal regards and best wishes, I am,

Very sincerely yours,

ERNEST H. CHERRINGTON

This practical expression of appreciation on the part of my friends came as a great surprise to me, but I prized more highly the statement made by Dr. Cherrington and sent out with the approval of the committee indicated above. The written expression of appreciation was more gratifying in one way than what was later done. A home was purchased for me at the corner of First and A Streets, N.E., which building was admirably arranged for my work, and which was within a short distance of the Congressional Library, the Capitol Building, and the Union Station, which would be the most important buildings for my work or for my pleasure.

Approximately \$5,000 was raised and applied to the purchase price of the building. I arranged for a mortgage to pay off the balance and, after making some alterations and planning some other changes, my wife and I were much pleased that we had the deed to a house so admirably situated and adapted to our needs, even though it was encumbered by a mortgage. Unfortunately, our pleasure was short-lived, for in 1927 the government instituted condemnation proceedings and took over my house along with all other neighboring property necessary for the erection of the beautiful building for the United States Supreme Court. Before the condemnation proceedings were completed, my wife's health had become so precarious that I realized she would never be able to occupy the newly purchased home, and so I saw it go from my control with less regret. The money finally paid me by the government in settlement, after the payment of the mortgages, I found to be a handy nest-egg from which to draw at the beginning of the Anti-Smith campaign in 1928.

President Coolidge, at the insistence of Secretary Mellon, created a new office—the Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, with supervision of the customs, Coast Guard, and prohibition units, and, without any consultation whatever with any of the prohibition leaders, Brigadier General Lincoln C. Andrews was appointed to that position.²

This appointment was made without abolishing the office of the Commissioner of Prohibition held by Major Haynes. It really would have made that office a figurehead, had it not been that General Andrews finally came to use Major Haynes as somewhat of a liaison officer with Dr. Wheeler. Without any personal reflection upon General Andrews, he was totally unfit for the office to which he was appointed. He had no background to qualify him for it. He was not in any sense a pro-

2. Lincoln C. Andrews (1867-1950) was one-time governor of Leyte and teacher at West Point. He retired from the service in 1919. He was appointed Assistant Secretary of the Treasury on August 1, 1927.

hibitionist, and the appointment should never have been made. It was perhaps the most open effort made by Secretary Mellon to hamstring the enforcement of the Prohibition Amendment. I had several meetings with General Andrews and Major Haynes while General Andrews was in office. I found him pleasant and apparently desirous of securing whatever information he could to assist him in carrying on his work, but his methods were not effective, and there was no improvement in prohibition enforcement under his administration, which ended in about two years. . . .

In August, 1925, the Universal Christian Conference on Life and Work was held at Stockholm, Sweden,³ under the leadership and patronage of Archbishop Söderblom. The groundwork for this conference had been laid several years before, and careful preparations had been made to secure thoroughly considered and wrought-out reports on a large number of subjects pertaining directly to the life and work of the church as distinguished from questions involving purely faith and order.

I had been appointed as the American representative of the Commission on Drink. This commission met at Berga Slott, the site of an old-time castle. The old castle, a very interesting building, was still standing and was used by the overseer of the estate, but the present owner had built a large, modern, new castle, beautifully situated overlooking the Baltic Sea, protected from it by some islands, between which there were sufficiently deep channels for yachts and small steamers. . . .

But the Commission on Drink, composed of six members, was unusual in its composition, to say the least, from the viewpoint of an American Methodist minister. The chairman was a tall, elderly, Presbyterian Scotchman who did not hesitate to declare that a drink of good Scotch whiskey was very comforting and very desirable. There were two Swedes on the commission, one Estonian, who was "almost persuaded" to be a prohibitionist, and a very charming, lovable Bishop of the Greek Church from Jugoslavia, who in face, beard, and hair and in the regularity of his features and the sweetness of his expression reminded one of the current pictures of Christ. Our Scotch chairman started off his day with a "reasonable" tot of the best Scotch whiskey with a bottle of soda.

At both lunch and dinner five glasses were placed around each plate and five different kinds of intoxicants were poured in said glasses, all of which were tasted and consumed by the fellowmembers of the com-

3. See pp. 252-253.

mittee, some of whom enjoyed the flavor so greatly that they accepted the refilling of the glasses by the butler. I turned down the glasses at my plate the first day and asked the butler if he could furnish me with Apollinaris water, which he said he could do, but of which he very evidently greatly disapproved.

I was asked by my neighbor, the Greek Bishop, why I turned my glasses down. Why did I not let the butler fill the glasses? Then, if he or the Estonian professor wanted a little additional liquor, it would not be necessary to call the butler, but mine would be available. I told him that I had such experiences with what we knew as the wet press in America that I did not propose to put myself in a position where it could possibly be said that a picture taken of the Commission on Drink would show my glasses all filled as were the glasses of the other members, and, moreover, I did not wish to aid or abet him in drinking more than he would drink otherwise. He laughed and said that he did not know that the wet newspaper would go to such lengths. Later on during our stay at the castle he found that my caution was warranted. The pictures were taken of the commission seated at the table with our host at the head, which pictures were printed in the Stockholm paper as a tribute to the hospitality shown at Berga Slott.

The commission did give very careful study to the question of "drink," and of the various methods which had been used in various countries to combat the liquor traffic. At the insistence of the Swedish members, a day and a half were given to Mr. A. Bratt, the author of the Bratt system,⁴ who endeavored to secure from us a wholesale commendation of his method of handling the liquor traffic. With five of the six members of the commission users of intoxicants, one might well wonder what hope there was to secure a united report of any value on the subject of "drink," and yet that committee did bring forth a report which, in view of the facts stated above, was quite a remarkable document. . . .

The most significant portion of the report was the emphatic declaration that the issues involved were not simply personal, but social, and that all the activities of the individual must be considered in relation

4. The Bratt System became a part of Swedish law in 1919. Sales of intoxicating liquors (spirits, wines, malt liquors of more than 3.6 per cent alcohol) were to be made through a government co-operative, Bolag. Shareholders were to get no more than 5 per cent interest per annum. The operation of Bolag was subject to community veto. There was no restriction upon the sale of beer and wine, but sale of other liquors was limited by passbook (Ernest H. Cherrington, ed., *Standard Encyclopedia of the Alcohol Problem*, Westerville, Ohio, 1925, I, 396; see also Marquis Childs, *Sweden: The Middle Way*, New Haven, 1947, p. 116).

to the social order of which he is a part. Therefore, the report declared increased emphasis must be placed upon the rights of society.

I was not simply encouraged, I was amazed, that I was able to get such a report signed as the minimum by six men, only one of whom, myself, was a total abstainer, or an advocate of the prohibition of the liquor traffic for the protection of society.

The three great questions before the Stockholm Conference were "The Church and War," "The Church and Industry," and "The Church and Drink." On the first two questions there was interested and protracted debate. A full day was given to the discussion of "The Church and Drink." It fell to my lot to present the American position as set forth by the action of the American people in the adoption of the Eighteenth Amendment. . . .

The advocates of personal liberty were represented by Lord Salveson of Scotland, who set forth in the baldest possible form the doctrine of personal liberty as the absolute right of every individual to satisfy his appetite, and the injustice of any law which interfered with the liberty of the subject. He denounced American prohibition in unmeasured terms, and declared that a "shorter Bible" had been published in America under the auspices of the two great leading denominations which have favored prohibition, which shorter Bible eliminated everything unfavorable to prohibition. He finally declared that in one of the states of America tobacco-smoking had been made a penal offense.

It is perfectly true, as one of the reporters declared, that "Lord Salveson jumped on American prohibition with hob-nailed shoes," but it is not true that any considerable section of the conference agreed with his position, and at the close of the discussion the reporter of the *Christian Science Monitor* correctly interpreted the attitude of the conference when he said, "American prohibition emerged in the most favorable light at the Universal Conference on Life and Work in Monday's debate. It was generally felt that at the close of the debate prohibition had scored a big victory. . . ."

What was the final action of this great conference on the subject of "Drink?" The only official document adopted by the conference was the *Message*. The *Message* declared:

The Conference considered next the moral and social problems of overcrowding, unemployment, lax morals, drink and its evils. Here we are led to recognize that these problems are so grave that they cannot be solved by individual efforts alone, but that the community must accept the responsibility for them and must exercise such social control over individual action as in each instance may be necessary for the common good.

. . . In view of the customs and habits of the people of the various nations represented at the Stockholm Conference, it was not only very gratifying but exceedingly encouraging to secure this statement which, if carried to its logical conclusion, means that the only way to abolish the evils of the traffic is by abolishing the legalized traffic itself, which is the basic principle underlying the American prohibition law. . . .

With the statement by united Christendom at Stockholm of the exceeding gravity to the world of drink and its evils, and the declaration that the community "must exercise social control over individual action" fresh in their minds, eighty delegates from various European countries came to a conference at Geneva to consider the questions of dope-smuggling, the sale of intoxicating liquor to native races in mandated territories, and the rights of small nations to protect themselves from the imposition of the liquor traffic upon them through economic pressure by the larger nations. All these subjects were thoroughly considered and the conference was attended by several leading members of the League of Nations, and the findings of the conference were presented to the various commissions of the League of Nations with the request that the evils of the liquor traffic be given equal consideration by the League of Nations with the opium traffic and the white-slave traffic, and the indications were that such consideration would be given.

The Johnson Report 1925

The attitude of the European people and of the European churches generally toward prohibition of the drink traffic was more favorable than ever before, or ever since, as the result of the Stockholm and Geneva Conferences, and the probability is that there would have been a great forward international prohibition movement, but for one of the most unexpected, unfortunate, and utterly unwarranted, if not reprehensible, actions ever committed in connection with the prohibition conflict. When I returned from Greece the latter part of September [1925] I was faced with headlines and statements in British and Continental papers concerning a document entitled: "Research Bulletin No. 5. The Prohibition Situation, Published by the Department of Research and Education of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America." Some of the headlines were "Church Report on Prohibition Declares Young People Drinking More Liquor; Alcoholic Deaths Increased"; "Dry Regime Hit by Church Council"; "Churchmen Find Rise in Drinking"; "Death Rate from Alcoholism Higher since 1920"; "More Drinking in Colleges"; etc.

I was greatly shocked by these headlines and by the apparently accurate quotations from the so-called "Research Bulletin." I sent the following cable immediately to New York:

LONDON, September 23, 1925

Administrative Committee

Federal Council

New York

Leading British and Continental papers declare American churches admit prohibition success in the balance, emphasizing disagreements with statements in *Manufacturers' Record* by World League and other prohibition workers. European temperance leaders are bewildered. Regardless accuracy these exceedingly damaging European publications, I emphatically reiterate position heretofore taken in the Administrative Committee denying authority and competence Johnson's Research Department speak for churches without thorough conferences and agreement with regular Church Temperance Boards, just as I would condemn deliverance on foreign missions by Federal Council without consultation with regular Foreign Mission Boards. Principle is vital that Administrative Committee shall clearly, positively limit authority Johnson's Research Department to speak for churches, thus preventing the giving of exceedingly disproportionate weight and authority to research conclusions on child labor, open shop, prohibition, etc., which conclusions many think oftentimes unwarranted and poorly balanced, endangering continued cooperation some churches. Macfarland read committee.—CANNON

The above was a cable based upon the action taken by the Federal Council at its quadrennial meeting at Atlanta, Georgia, in December, 1924, authorizing the establishment of the Research Department. That action distinctly stated that the Research Department was:

To act as a liaison office between the different church organizations in carrying on research and the social agencies which are interested in moral and religious questions. To make such occasional and independent investigations as may from time to time be called for, but not doing so when other qualified bodies are prepared to do the work.

The Administrative Committee at its meeting in June, 1925, gave no authorization to the Research Department to publish any report on the prohibition situation, and the next meeting of the committee was to . . . [take place on] the fourth Friday in September, but before the committee met, . . . the report was rushed to the press and issued without any opportunity whatever for the Administrative Committee to pass judgment, or to determine what action should be taken on such an exceedingly important matter.

The report was issued with the knowledge of the General Secretaries of the Federal Council, for a circular letter was sent to the members of the Administrative Committee by the General Secretaries and to others, in which two questions were asked: first, does the report indicate in your judgment the need for any change in the methods to be followed in the program of the churches with regard to temperance and prohibition; second, what part, if any, of this program ought to be assumed by the Federal Council as an administrative responsibility?

The letter from which these quotations are taken does not indicate that the secretaries recognized that the report had no authorization by the Administrative Committee, and that the compiler and author of the report had absolutely ignored the Atlanta instruction, that the Research Department was to act as the "liaison office between the different church organizations in carrying on research," and in the preparation of the report all the great prohibition organizations were ignored, no contacts were made with the Anti-Saloon League, the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, the two boards of temperance of the great Methodist Church, or with many other organizations, all of which have had long experience in research in connection with moral and religious questions. . . .

The report was met by a storm of protest, not from fanatics, or Anti-Saloon Leaguers, but from representatives of the churches, who flatly denied that the report had any real basis of authority from the Administrative Committee of the Federal Council, but only from F. Ernest Johnson and a few members of the Research Department. So widespread and influential was this protest that on October 9 a special meeting of the Administrative Committee was held, largely for the purpose of considering a report of a strong Committee of Fifteen, appointed September 23, to prepare and issue a statement concerning research, law observance, unequivocal advocacy of prohibition, and temperance education. At that meeting I presented the statement of the Executive Committee of the Commission on Temperance and Social Service of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, concerning the Johnson Report. In connection with that statement I set forth as positively, emphatically, and as clearly as I could my own position:

1) That I had been present at every meeting of the Administrative Committee since the Atlanta meeting of the Council in 1924. I knew that the Administrative Committee never authorized the report, and in June, 1925, when it was intimated that the Administrative Committee would be asked to authorize some such report, I positively stated then my flat disagreement with Mr. Johnson's methods and conclusions as

illustrated by his very scanty, half-baked statement of facts made at the convention of the Committee of One Thousand in Washington over two years ago.

Furthermore, I stated that no such report could be authorized until, in accordance with the Atlanta Resolutions, the "different church organizations carrying on research, and the social agencies" had been carefully consulted, and that such research investigations were to be made only "when other qualified bodies are not prepared to do the work."

The minutes of the meeting of June 12, therefore, contain no record of any action by the Administrative Committee authorizing the publication of the Johnson Prohibition Report as a document of the Federal Council, for it was published before the meeting of the Administrative Committee on September 23, and without any warrant whatever it declares on the title page as "Published by the Department of Research and Education of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America," and on the inside cover it is stated, "Copyright, 1925, by F. Ernest Johnson. . . ."

2) That I did not consider the document to be worthy of the approval of the Administrative Committee; that the document was not a careful survey of the prohibition situation, but that it was a haphazard, scrappy, sectional survey, and did not present any adequate knowledge of present conditions; that I was amazed at the attitude of the Johnson Report toward the representatives of the other great organizations who had been carrying on research work for years. The work of such investigators as Miss Cora Frances Stoddard, Dr. Ernest H. Cherrington, Professor Harry Warner, and Mr. R. E. Corradini is entirely ignored,⁵ and is minimized by the statement in the very beginning of the report, that there has been "so little careful study." I told the committee that Mr. Corradini had told Mr. Johnson, on seeing the manuscript before it was sent to the printer, that not more than 5 per cent of available information had been considered.

At the close of the discussion of the report, the Committee of Fifteen was divided, and that part of the report referring to the question of the authorization of the prohibition study and its issuance was referred back to the Committee of Fifteen; and that part of the statement of the

5. Miss Cora Frances Stoddard, an active temperance worker, was secretary of the Executive Committee of the National Temperance Council, member of the Executive Committee of the World League against Alcoholism, and Director of the Intercollegiate Prohibition Association.

Harry Warner was Educational Secretary of the Intercollegiate Prohibition Association.

R. E. Corradini was in the Research Department of the World Alliance against Alcoholism.

committee which discusses the policy of the Federal Council on the prohibition issue was referred to a subcommittee of three, consisting of Dr. Robert E. Speer,⁶ Dr. William Adams Brown, and myself, to revise and condense in the light of the discussion by the Administrative Committee, with the understanding that the subcommittee should report to the Committee of Fifteen, which would have the authority to decide on the final wording of the statement and to issue it in the name of the Administrative Committee. The Committee of Fifteen was also instructed to advise with the Research Department as to the wisest relation between the department and the Administrative Committee.

The subcommittee of three, of which I was chairman, prepared a statement on prohibition, which was approved by the Committee of Fifteen, and issued as expressive of the policy of the Federal Council concerning prohibition. . . .⁷

The Executive Committee of the Federal Council met in Detroit, December 9-11, 1925. A Business Committee, consisting of twelve, was appointed, to which committee were referred the records of the Administrative Committee during the year and all other important resolutions. I was a member of the Business Committee, and participated in the discussions, especially those concerning prohibition, research, education, war, and world peace. . . . The Business Committee approved the statement on prohibition which had been prepared by Dr. Speer, Dr. Brown, and myself. It also approved the action of the Administrative Committee concerning the relation of the Department of Research and Education to the Administrative Committee, but it added two additional paragraphs as follows:

In case the constituent bodies of the Council have departments or specially authorized agencies working in the same fields, the Research Department shall consult with such departments, or agencies, in making investigations and reports.

6. Robert E. Speer (1867-1947) was lay secretary of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions from 1891 to 1937, and traveled widely among the Missions in Asia and South America. He was a vigorous preacher and productive writer and was elected president of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America in 1920, serving in that capacity for four years.

7. The report emphasized its "unequivocal support of national prohibition, advocated constant effort to promote understanding and enforcement of the law." It reiterated its belief that "social evils" required "social control," and that only federation was adequate. It insisted that great social gains had resulted from prohibition; it recognized work performed by individual churches and this organization; and it called on all churches for a "renewed moral crusade." Johnson's views were also expressed in a series of articles: "Facing Prohibition Facts," *Christian Century*, XLII (Sept. 17, 1925), 1145 ff.; "Has Dry Enforcement Collapsed," *ibid.*, XLII (Oct. 1, 1925), 1212 ff.; "The Dry Fight Just Ahead," *ibid.*, XLII (Oct. 8, 1925), 1242 ff.

The method of procedure here described shall be followed by other Commissions and Committees in all cases of public pronouncements.

Thus, after three months of thorough discussion the Federal Council, through its Executive Committee, declared (1) its positive, unequivocal support of the Prohibition Amendment; (2) that subjects of research must be approved by the Administrative Committee; (3) that the report when completed shall be presented to the Administrative Committee; (4) that the Administrative Committee shall determine the time and method of the publication of the report; (5) that the Research Department must consult with departments, or specially organized agencies of constituent bodies of the Council working in the same field; (6) and that this method of procedure shall be followed by all other commissions and committees in case of public pronouncement.

These positive, clear-cut rules for the operation of the Research Department were opposed by some members of the Executive Committee, but they were overwhelmingly adopted and indicated the disapproval of the Johnson Report by a large majority of the representatives of the constituent bodies. . . .

The leaders of the Anti-Saloon League were determined that the Federal Council should not again be held responsible for a copyrighted report of an individual who blandly declared in articles in the *Christian Century*, in the face of a history of forty years of organized prohibition work, that "little scientific work has been done," and that "the way in which statistical statements have been biased, undesirable facts discarded, and desirable guesses turned into facts has been a disgrace to the forces of civic reform which have been so actively interested in the success of prohibition" (or who in the last of his *Christian Century* articles closed with a subhead entitled, "New Leadership Needed")

As the Johnson Report had never been authorized, and . . . would evidently never have been authorized as a publication of the Federal Council, it should have been issued as a copyrighted statement of F. Ernest Johnson as an individual, and then it would have had just the weight that the name of F. Ernest Johnson would have given to it, but, published as it was, as a document of the Federal Council, it was the judgment of men and women who had led in the prohibition fight for very many years that no document had ever been printed which had been productive of more real harm to the cause of prohibition. . . . Both in the matter and in the spirit of its writing it produced the impression upon the enemies of prohibition that the church leadership was hesitant, wavering and in doubt, and inspired them to put forward such efforts as

they had not put forward since the Eighteenth Amendment was adopted.

Utterances of Roman Catholic cardinals, Jewish rabbis, and other respectable people would probably never had been made had it not been for the springboard furnished by the Johnson Report. And I will say in all candor that I personally for myself, and for many of those with whom I had fought in this warfare without any monetary compensation, at heavy risk and loss, resented the contemptuous, deprecatory, insulting attitude of the Johnson Report and the Johnson *Christian Century* articles toward those who had borne the heat and burden of the day. Had a great prohibition leader who had upon him the scars of battle made such an utterance it might have been endurable, but for a man who had suffered nothing practically for a great moral, social cause to come forward and coolly brush aside all those who had been working for years, and to declare in the *Christian Century* "that a new leadership is needed" and that the fate of prohibition hangs largely upon the question of whether his suggestions are accepted as authoritative and are adopted, deserved even more severe criticism than was given him. . . .

1926

The Anti-Saloon League Convention of 1925 was held in Chicago, November 5-10. It was an exceedingly important convention, following as it did so closely upon the Johnson Report, and was advertised as a "Crisis Convention." There was decided disagreement among the leading officials of the League as to the action to be taken. The chairman of the Executive Committee, Dr. A. J. Barton, and I, the chairman of the Legislative Committee, were in agreement on this matter.

From the very beginning of the Harding regime, when Commissioner Kramer, a Democrat, and an efficient officer, was displaced for no other reason than to give the position to a Republican on through the years, I had been increasingly dissatisfied with the meager appropriations made for the enforcement of the Prohibition Department, and the political setup, giving positions in the Enforcement Department to men who were known to be positively wet, and without any sympathy for the Prohibition Law. I had objected vigorously, both personally and in committee, to Dr. Wheeler's attitude on this matter. I was not interested in "standing in" with the Republican administration, as was Dr. Wheeler.

I insisted that the appeal should be made directly to the country. I was in favor of the adoption by the convention of resolutions expressive of its dissatisfaction with enforcement conditions, and of a specific demand upon the President of the United States to recognize his own responsibility to see that the Eighteenth Amendment was properly en-

forced and not to shift responsibility to the Secretary of the Treasury, who not only had no sympathy with, but was personally opposed to, the Prohibition Law.

In his biography of Dr. Wheeler, Justin Stewart⁸ states concerning the Chicago Convention: "Possibly the divergence between the aims and methods of the Anti-Saloon League and those of Wheeler was never more clear-cut than at this time."

The argument of the League leaders was

... that the League does not exist to support any administration or any officials, but to insist on the enforcement of the law by whatever officials might hold office (Republicans or Democrats). Wheeler's policy on the other hand was to make the best of existing conditions, and as a practical man take what he could get in enforcement without useless fuss.

... I was, of course, one of those favoring the strongest kind of protest and appeal to President Coolidge, but was called to Nashville for a conference on exceedingly serious conditions in Mexico, to which I was obliged to give attention.⁹ I did make an address upon prohibition world conditions in which I emphasized the favorable attitude toward prohibition in European countries and the amazement and perplexity which had resulted from the Johnson Report. I had prepared a thorough analysis of the Johnson Report, but owing to my enforced absence was not able to deliver it.

After the adjournment of the convention, notwithstanding the fact that Dr. Wheeler knew full well the attitude of the leaders and the rank and file of the Anti-Saloon League, Mr. Stewart correctly states in his biography that "when the Convention had adjourned, and the all-powerful League committees had scattered to the four corners of the nation, Wheeler assured the President that it really didn't matter." And in my interviews with him I found that as an official of the League I would not be able to secure any aggressive action either from President Coolidge or Secretary Mellon because Dr. Wheeler was unwilling to have any breach with the Republican administration.

8. Justin Stewart, *Wayne Wheeler, Dry Boss* (New York: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1928).

9. The controversy between church and state in Mexico was emphasized in 1926 by a letter of Pope Pius XI calling for Catholic resistance to the policy of President Calles and the Constitution of 1917. Cannon, who was severely critical of four hundred years of Mexican Catholicism, refused to link Protestantism with Catholicism against the state. He denied that the Constitution was directed against legitimate spiritual functions. He was, in fact, resentful towards Catholic action in the United States which he believed to be designed to persuade the U. S. government to support Vatican policies (James Cannon, Jr., "The American Protestant View," *Current History*, XXIV, July, 1926, 491-496).

Therefore, while I did not resign as chairman of the National Legislative Committee, yet I did determine that I would emphasize more strongly the attitude of the Southern people through my chairmanship of the Commission on Temperance and Social Service of my Church. On November 20 I issued a statement which was carried by the press throughout the country in which I emphasized that I believed that:

. . . Southern voters would back the law against lawlessness if a Democrat who was against the Prohibition Amendment were nominated for President; that it would be an insult to the intelligence and independence of the Southern people to suppose that they would agree to vote for any man simply because he was branded "Democrat" regardless of his attitude toward prohibition and lawlessness. The repeal of the New York State Law Enforcement Act, commonly known as the Mullan-Gage Law, was a direct attack on the Eighteenth Amendment and, as Mr. Buckner says, has resulted in the era of liquor lawlessness in New York City predicted when that State Enforcement Law was repealed.

Certainly it is unthinkable that any Southern Democrat who approves of the National Prohibition Law, and of the duty of the states which ratified the Amendment to co-operate in its effective enforcement, can support any man for President who like Governor Smith has not only made no effort to co-operate in the enforcement of the Prohibition Law, but has, by his official action and influence, endeavored to nullify its operation as far as he could possibly do so.

The breakdown in law enforcement in New York is directly attributable to the opposition of Governor Smith to the Prohibition Law, and the deplorable condition in New York so fills the eye of the general public that it produces an entirely erroneous impression as to the enforcement of the law in other parts of the country. (This is especially true as to foreign countries, which have an entirely erroneous impression as to the relative importance of New York City, thinking of it as representative of the whole of our great country.)

I have given this quotation somewhat at length to show that right through the years I held exactly the same attitude toward the election of Governor Smith to the Presidency, based entirely upon his attitude toward the Eighteenth Amendment and its enforcement. My opposition was not based at all upon his religious affiliation as a Roman Catholic. . . .

In the spring of 1926 there were introduced into Congress a large number of bills affecting prohibition, some concerning beer, some concerning physicians' prescriptions, and some to strengthen the Prohibition Law. All the bills were referred to the Judiciary Committee, which appointed a subcommittee to hold public hearings.¹⁰ Senator Albert B.

10. Judiciary Committee, Senate. *National Prohibition Law, hearings before sub-*

Cummins, of Iowa, was chairman of the Judiciary Committee. At the urgent insistence of the wets, he appointed Senator Reed of Missouri as one member of the committee. Not simply as an advocate of the Eighteenth Amendment, but from his knowledge of Senator Reed, Senator Cummins should not have appointed him as a member of the committee, for he knew that he was intensely partisan, and unfair in his methods of cross-examination of witnesses favoring the Eighteenth Amendment and the laws enacted for its enforcement.

A committee was appointed to arrange for the presentation of the dry position before the subcommittee of the Senate. Dr. Wheeler was very insistent that he be permitted to be one of the leading witnesses for the Anti-Saloon League, but the League leaders decided that his physical condition was such that it was not wise for him to appear as a witness, as it was almost a certainty that regardless of his apparent physical weakness, he would be subjected to a protracted, unfair, and probably vindictive cross-examination by Senator Reed. It was therefore decided that if his physical condition warranted, Dr. Wheeler should make the closing argument in favor of the dry enforcement measures before the committee and against the wet ones, and to this Dr. Wheeler reluctantly agreed. In view of this fact, the committee allotted to me more time than to any other speaker.

Desiring, if possible, to make my statement in the time allotted and without heckling interruptions, I wrote out what I had to say and endeavored to make a presentation which would fairly present the facts as to the present situation concerning prohibition, its opponents, and the lawless liquor traffic. I did not speak as the representative of the Anti-Saloon League but as chairman of the Commission on Temperance and Social Service of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. To the surprise of almost everyone, I was not asked one single question, nor was any comment made by my opponents. The New York *Times* printed the statement in full, and again, much to my surprise, the *Times-Dispatch*, in reporting the hearing headlined its report "Virginian Is Star Witness in Probe" and printed the statement, which covered practically an entire page, in full. Senator Sheppard had my statement printed as a Senate document. . . .

At the close of the hearing Dr. Wheeler made a forceful and persuasive argument, the effect of which was intensified by his evident physical weakness.

committees, 69th Congress, 1st session on S.33, S.34, S.591, S.592, S.3118, S. J. Res. 34, S. J. Res. 81, S. J. Res. 85, S.3823, S.3411, and S.3891, bills to amend National Prohibition Act, April 5-24, 1926. 2 vols. [x] 1660 pp. ill. 2 maps.

The subcommittee rejected all the wet proposals and declared: "We believe the Eighteenth Amendment to be morally right and economically wise. So long as this Amendment is a part of our fundamental law it is the duty of all officers, legislative, executive and judicial to aid in its enforcement."

The hearing brought out such an array of testimony from competent, trustworthy, outstanding citizens and organizations that it did much to counteract the bad effect of the unauthorized, ill-advised Johnson Report. . . .

The hearing and the report of the committee were a great victory, showing to the entire country the sectional seat of wet lawlessness and nullification.

But the Mellon program of inadequate appropriations and inefficient enforcement officers still continued, and Dr. Wheeler still declined to break with the administration.

When our General Conference met in Memphis in May, 1926, the Commission on Temperance and Social Service presented to the conference, through the General Conference Committee, the following resolutions:

(1) To reject all proposals to enact any legislation which has as its object the nullification or the weakening of the Prohibition Enforcement Act, commonly known as the Volstead Law.

(2) To enact into law during the present session of Congress the legislation proposed for the Prohibition Department of the Federal Government as outlined in this statement with the purpose to prevent evasions of the law, to increase penalties for its violation, to improve the personnel of the Prohibition Department and its general efficiency, and to supply whatever men and money may be necessary to compel obedience to the law, even by those who in high social life have publicly declared that they will have intoxicants, "Constitution or no Constitution." We must positively insist that when men openly flaunt their determination to violate any law of our country the Government must suppress anarchy and compel obedience to the law, absolutely, regardless of cost.—JAMES CANNON, JR., *Chairman*, MRS. W. A. NEWELL, *Secretary*.

These resolutions were adopted by a unanimous rising vote, and were ordered to be transmitted promptly to the presiding officers of the United States Senate and the House of Representatives.

The newspaper reporters seized hold upon the clause "to supply whatever men and money may be necessary to compel obedience to the law," and inquired what was meant by that statement. I replied that they knew the meaning of the English language and it meant

exactly what it said. One newspaper reporter then said, "But it might mean a hundred million dollars." I replied, "Well, what of it?" Another reporter then said, "But suppose it meant two hundred million dollars." I said, "All right, it means that if it would take that much." And then a third reporter, rather hesitatingly said, "Suppose it means three hundred million dollars?" I then said:

It means whatever men and money are necessary to enforce the Prohibition Law, and to prevent the illegal manufacture and distribution of intoxicating liquors. In 1794 there was what was known as the "Whiskey Rebellion" in Western Pennsylvania. The distillers in that section had refused to pay the tax laid by Congress upon the distillation of whiskey. Tax collectors were tarred and feathered, and a Presidential proclamation was issued calling upon the distillers to obey the law, but the distillers armed themselves, and an excise officer was shot. A man named George Washington was President of the United States, and he ordered Governor Henry Lee of Virginia to proceed with 15,000 militiamen to Western Pennsylvania and put an end to the rebellion. Our first president thus declared that the laws of the United States must and would be enforced. What is needed today in Washington is the same determination to enforce the Constitution and the laws of the United States, regardless of cost. The maintenance of law is the prime question, the cost is only a minor matter.

Many newspapers in great headlines declared that I had demanded that the government spend three hundred million dollars on law enforcement, which showed how fanatical I was. But I made no reply for I did hold that the government should supply "whatever men and money may be necessary to compel obedience to the law." Of course, it would not have required three hundred million dollars, but if it had cost three hundred million dollars to secure proper enforcement of the Prohibition Law, the country would have saved many times that amount from wasteful lawlessness, and the beneficial prohibition policy would have been firmly established.

It may be thought that too much space has been given to this period of the prohibition era, but it is necessary to show what the conditions were in 1926, and to emphasize the continual fight which had been made by others and myself to separate prohibition enforcement entirely from political affiliation, or appointments, and to secure a nonpolitical efficient force of men and adequate appropriations of money. I had stated in the first address I ever made after the ratification of the Prohibition Amendment that the motto of the Anti-Saloon League was "Agitation, Legislation, Law-Enforcement," and that the Anti-Saloon League had been successful in carrying on agitation in securing legislation, and that

now the most difficult work was before it, that of securing law enforcement.

I never had any illusions on that matter. I knew that inefficient, inadequate law enforcement would inevitably result in the breakdown and repeal of the Prohibition Law. I had frankly told President Harding that unless there was better law enforcement I would insist upon an appeal to the people of the country for pressure upon the administration. I think he was sincere in his pledge to secure improved conditions. I insisted at the meeting of the Executive Committee of the League that we should cut entirely loose from political affiliations and present positive demands for adequate law enforcement, or declare to the country the responsibility of the administration. I was never able, however, to bring Dr. Wheeler into agreement with my views, and against the urgent advice, not only of other prohibition organizations, but of many Anti-Saloon League leaders, Dr. Wheeler insisted upon the retention of certain officials in executive positions. . . .¹¹

In December of 1926 the Federal Council Executive Committee met at Indianapolis. As a member of the Commission on Social Service, I drafted a statement on prohibition which was adopted by the committee. One of the most important subjects brought before the meeting was the question of divorce, involving the attitude of the Roman Catholic Church toward Protestant marriage and divorce. The discussion was interesting and illuminating, and the ramifications and the comprehensiveness of the subject were so great that I introduced a resolution calling for the appointment of a special Committee on Marriage and the Home, of which committee I was appointed chairman, and continued in that position until ill health caused my retirement as chairman, and the unfortunate report on birth control and incidents connected with its publication caused my retirement as a member.¹²

Shortly before the close of the session of Congress in this year, the League leaders determined to pass the Prohibition Reorganization Bill,

11. During the summer and fall of 1926 Cannon traveled extensively. He made a number of addresses in Scandinavia, attended the International Congress against Alcoholism in Estonia and the first International Y.M.C.A. Conference held since the war in Finland. He then traveled through Russia (Leningrad, Moscow, Armenia) to Turkey and from there back to Belgium. His route home was via Spain and Portugal. In the latter country, he found that there was considerable support for a temperance movement. From Portugal he went to South America, visiting in a few days' time Brazil, Argentina, Chile, Peru, and Cuba, and meeting Methodist missionaries and local temperance workers.

12. The Committee on Marriage and the Home submitted a report approving the principle and practice of birth control. The committee was not unanimous, and Church opinion was divided on the matter (*New York Times*, March 11, 1931).

to which the League had committed itself, and which had passed the House.¹³ A small wet group declared their intention to filibuster to the close of the session, if necessary to defeat the bill, but our Legislative Committee decided to insist that we would ask for cloture rather than lose the bill.

I found that Dr. Wheeler, while a very sick man, and physically unable to do anything more than absolutely necessary work, could not bring himself to give up control of everything that went on, especially in Washington. He was determined to retain Major Haynes in office as Commissioner of Prohibition. He had been reaching Assistant Secretary of the Treasury Andrews through Major Haynes, and many of Secretary Andrews' public proposals really came from Dr. Wheeler's office.

In the fight over the bill, the League, especially Wheeler, was bitterly denounced by the wet group, but the bill was passed by a vote of 71 to 6, with 19 senators paired, not voting, or absent, showing a total vote of over three-fourths of the Senate favorable to the bill.

But there was increasing dissatisfaction throughout the country with the results which were being obtained by the Prohibition Enforcement Department, and there was a demand from other prohibition organizations for the elimination of Major Haynes. A number of the Anti-Saloon League state superintendents preferred that he should not be reappointed, and the Executive Committee of the League refused positively to support any individual. The committee voted to insist upon the appointment of an efficient commissioner who believed in the law which he was appointed to enforce, but declared that it was not the genuine League method to demand the appointment of a special individual.

Dr. Wheeler,¹⁴ with a strange persistence almost bordering on infatuation, or stubbornness, insisted upon the continuance of Major Haynes in office as Commissioner of Prohibition, although his effectiveness was almost nil. It seemed impossible to change Dr. Wheeler's view, that in order to secure satisfactory results he and the Anti-Saloon League organization must maintain a grip upon the matter of the appointment of men in the prohibition service, and in judicial and some other appoint-

13. An act to create a Bureau of Customs and a Bureau of Prohibition in the Department of the Treasury (March 3, 1927). A commissioner was to be appointed by the Secretary regardless of Civil Service laws; duties of personnel were to be prescribed by the secretary and the commissioner (*U. S. Statutes at Large*, XLIV, 1381).

14. The section of the autobiography from this point until the year 1927 was placed in the Cannon draft nearer the beginning of the chapter and chronologically two years earlier, and then partially duplicated at this point. The editor has combined the earlier portion with the later and included it here.

ments as well. This determination to stand in with the federal government was a genuine handicap in the matter of prohibition enforcement. I personally urged an open break with the administration, including an appeal to the country, giving a statement of the real facts, and the Chicago Convention of the Anti-Saloon League in 1925 did flatly disagree with Dr. Wheeler, and resolutions were prepared which were a sweeping indictment of the federal administration in respect to prohibition enforcement.

At a great mass meeting Governor Pinchot of Pennsylvania made a sweeping attack upon Major Haynes's record, which could not be answered. The convention should really have gone the limit and asked for the resignation of Major Haynes, but Dr. Wheeler's influence was sufficient to prevent that, and he fought for the retention of Major Haynes in office because, as he frankly admitted to me, he might not have as much influence with a new Prohibition Commissioner who might not be as friendly to him as was Major Haynes. And this Dr. Wheeler did, although he knew that many prohibition leaders outside of the Anti-Saloon League, as well as many of the prominent League workers, were opposed to the continuance of Major Haynes. Dr. Wheeler even went so far as to say that "They are opposed to prohibition, and therefore opposed to Major Haynes and his honest, active, intelligent enforcement program."

Dr. Wheeler went to see President Coolidge in regard to the appointment of the Commissioner of Prohibition under the new reorganization act. He could not declare that he had advocated the reappointment of Major Haynes because of the well-known anti-Haynes sentiment in the League and in other dry organizations, but even then, after leaving the President, he gave to the newspaper men a statement in which he said: "It is because Major Haynes measures up to these qualifications that most of the leaders of the dominant parties who are dry have endorsed him. This is true of the rank and file of the dry forces generally."

After these statements were given out, I saw Dr. Wheeler and told him that these statements were made without authority and should have been declared to be made by himself as an individual and not as a representative of the League; that I did not desire to do so, but, as chairman of the Legislative Committee, if he continued to issue such statements, I would call a meeting of the committee and ask that it repudiate the statements he had made. Shortly after this conversation, the Executive Committee of the Anti-Saloon League met, and Dr. Wheeler endeavored to get the committee to go on record in support of Haynes.

Other members of the committee joined me in positive opposition to any such course. The committee simply asked that some man of ability and experience and a recognized dry be given the position. The result was the dismissal of both Haynes and Andrews and the appointment of Lieutenant-Governor Lowman of New York—a recognized dry—to succeed Andrews, and Dr. James M. Doran to succeed Haynes.¹⁵ . . .

My greatest concern was that there was no increase of any appreciable amount in the appropriations made for enforcement and, therefore, the new appointees were greatly handicapped in that respect as were their predecessors. Nothing, from my viewpoint, had been more important, and in nothing had the Anti-Saloon League failed more signally than in its work in connection with [the matter of prohibition enforcement]. The issue was so vital that the League should have made an appeal to the country for adequate appropriations for money and men even during the Harding administration. When President Coolidge took office the League should have promptly and firmly stated its demand for effective action. When General Andrews was appointed there should have been a vigorous continued protest that prohibition enforcement had been put in the hands of a man who was not himself a prohibitionist.

But all through those years the desire to keep on friendly relations with the party in power, or the administration in power, was a muzzle to the strong appeal which should have been made to the country. I admired Dr. Wheeler's ability as much as did anyone else, and in some phases of the prohibition work he was amazingly effective, but he simply could not be a nonpartisan worker and leader. He knew that I was his friend and he was my friend. He knew also that I more and more disagreed with him and his policy, for I discussed it with him with great frankness at all times. . . .

1927

I made my second trip to the Congo in the spring of 1927.¹⁶ Just before sailing I authorized the giving to the press of "An Appeal to the Industrial Leaders of the South," to which there had been secured the signatures of forty ministers, educators, and other religious leaders, all from the Southern states [among them being Bishop Mouzon]. The publication of the statement brought forth as fierce criticisms and as bit-

15. Seymour Lowman (1868-1940) was a New York Republican politician, member of the state assembly and of the senate, and lieutenant governor (1925-1926). He served as Assistant Secretary of the U. S. Treasury (1927-1933).

James M. Doran (1885-1941), chemist of the Bureau of Internal Revenue, served as Commissioner of Prohibition (1927-1930).

16. See chap. viii, pp. 259-263.

ter discussion as had been precipitated by my work to suppress the liquor traffic.

I was really amazed and unprepared for the character and the sources of the attacks which were made upon the signers of the appeal, and myself especially as in a sense the "chief sinner." As one looks back over what has happened during the past eleven years, it is surprising that an appeal of such a moderate character should have called forth such angry, almost vindictive attacks upon men of as high standing and reputation as the signers of the appeal. The appeal simply urged the employers of labor voluntarily to call conferences with their employees to discuss the question of wages, housing, shorter hours, especially of women and children, and a reasonable limit for child labor. The appeal was well timed, and had the employers recognized that the signers were sincere and thoroughly justified by the facts they would have expressed their appreciation, if not their gratitude, for the appeal, and gradual adjustments would have been made which would greatly have improved relations between employers and employees.

But the appeal was rejected, the signers denounced by some in mild terms as well-meaning, but ignorant and ill-advised, and by others in violent terms as officious meddlers, enemies of Southern industry, tools of paid Northern agents. Perhaps the most unreasonable criticisms and attacks came from some ministers in defense of some of the employers who personally were kind-hearted, liberal men, but who argued that they were tied up in a system which they could not control.

The most bitter personal attack was made by a paper published in Charlotte, where Bishop Mouzon resided. In reply to this attack Bishop Mouzon stated that the paper as given to the press was different from the paper which he signed. Upon my return from Africa I replied to the most important of these attacks upon the appeal, and, meeting Bishop Mouzon, I expressed to him my surprise that he should have given any public intimation that there had been any change in the wording of the appeal after he had signed it, as the changes were inconsequential.

He insisted that no change whatever should have been made without the consent of the signers. I took from my portfolio the original which he had signed and a copy of the one given to the press, proving that there was nothing but improvement in two or three places in wording, but with no change in meaning.

He, however, insisted that no change whatever should have been made without sending out the changed document to all the signers for their approval.

I said frankly that I thought his position was unreasonable, and that the change in wording was certainly not sufficient for a public statement to be made that the document had been changed after he had signed it.¹⁷ . . .

[On his way to the Congo, Cannon stopped first in England, where he obtained an interview with Lloyd George and discussed with him the questions of prohibition and of Armenia. In Geneva he conferred with Lord Robert Cecil and Professor Gilbert Murray discussing the failure of the United States to participate in the League of Nations, the prohibition question, and problem of Armenia. He embarked at Marseilles for Alexandria.]

I had several definite aims in Egypt, but one of the most important was to get the latest facts as to the temperance question. An application for membership had been received by the Executive Committee of the World League against Alcoholism, of which I was chairman, from the Egyptian Temperance League just before I left home. I had the names of the temperance leaders, but thought it best to secure letters of introduction from the American minister, who for the past six years had been Dr. J. M. Howell of Dayton, Ohio. Dr. Howell was a lifelong Methodist with a class-meeting [*sic*] father and mother, with seven brothers and cousins in the Methodist ministry. He was personally a prohibitionist, and has stood for the National Prohibition Law both by precept and example. No intoxicating liquors were served at any of the functions at the American Embassy, regardless of the personnel in attendance, and he always turned down his glass when intoxicants were served at functions which he attended.

Dr. Howell arranged for a personal interview with Prince Mohammed Ali at his palace, and for a conference with some ladies at the home of Madame Habib Khyatt Bey, the President of the National Branch of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union. Prince Mohammed Ali is a bachelor and lived in a large, handsome palace with spacious, beautiful grounds. Prince Ali was somewhat past middle-age, but was alert, vivacious, and well educated, well traveled, and well posted on current events, and intensely patriotic. He was a consistent Mohammedan, but quite tolerant. He was severe on the inconsistencies of the Mohammedan ministers and preachers, attributing much of the decadence of the present-day Mohammedan life to their inconsistencies, not to say hypocrisies. The relaxation of the strictness of the observance of the Mohammedan law against the use of intoxicants he declared was partly

17. Cannon included the above four paragraphs in the chapter on episcopal activities. The editor decided to transfer it here to avoid duplication.

due to failure by the ministers and preachers to censure the violations of the law as they should do, and largely to the example set by influential European officials, businessmen, and travelers who visit Egypt.

Dr. Howell's official attitude and personal habits had greatly encouraged those Egyptians who were trying to save their people from the evils of drink. They had begun to organize and to demand that Parliament pass restrictive legislation, . . . but they were faced with what was known as the Capitulations, which permitted foreigners to use and to sell intoxicants. Prince Ali said that as long as the foreigners had the right to sell intoxicants . . . a great many Mohammedans . . . [would feel] that it was unjust that they could not be permitted also to sell intoxicants, even though they did not use them, and that one of the most important things was to limit the Capitulations prohibiting the right to sell intoxicants. I had, of course, known, that the Capitulations existed in Egypt, but had not thought of them in relation to the liquor traffic. But the people of foreign countries, especially Europeans and Americans, insisted upon their rights to sell without restrictions by the Egyptian government, either by city council, or by national parliament. All efforts to restrict either hours or places of sale were stubbornly fought by the foreign element which brazenly claimed the right to sell even though it be in a country village where there were no foreigners. As no foreigners can be tried by an Egyptian court, and only by a court of their own country, it is clear that an intolerable situation had been created.

The next day when I went to see Madam Khyatt, and her sister-in-law, Madam Georges Wisser Pasha, and her daughter, they emphasized very strongly that they had the sentiment and the vote in Parliament to pass a prohibition law, but that they hesitated to do so knowing that it would apply only to Egyptians and not to foreigners, and not even to Egyptians if foreigners had any monetary interests in the business.

These ladies were not Moslems, but Coptic Christians. Their husbands being members of Parliament, they had homes in Cairo. They spoke English and French fluently and traveled frequently in Europe. It was exceedingly interesting to meet Christian Egyptian women, and to talk with them informally about the different customs of a country whose inhabitants are largely Mohammedans.

At the invitation of Dr. Watson, president of the American University,¹⁸ I spoke twice to the students of the university, once on the

18. Dr. Charles Roger Watson (1873-1948), President of American University at Cairo (1922-1945), had attended Princeton and held a pastorate in the United States. Between 1912 and 1916 he was corresponding secretary of the Board of Foreign Missions, United Presbyterian Church of North America.

subject of "American Prohibition," and was besieged after the address by a large group of students and professors, asking all kinds of questions. I also made an address at the Girls' School of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and another address to a most interesting group composed of the leaders of the Coptic Church, and of the Greek Church, headed by my friend, the Patriarch Meleties, who was the Premier Patriarch with his seat at Constantinople during the time of the Smyrna massacre, and who was deposed by the Turks from his Constantinople see because he was not sufficiently pliable to the demands of Kemal Pasha.

I sailed from Port Said on a French steamer, carrying only second-class, and very much crowded, but touching at Zanzibar, from which port I could get a steamer to Mombasa. The inhabitants of Zanzibar are practically all Mohammedans, and the Sultan has been retained by the British with full power, except on very important questions, when the British Viceroy, or Head Resident, speaks the final word as the representative of the King Emperor, at that time George V. Here again the example of the British officials, and of the Anglican Church, had influenced very greatly the sentiment of the higher ranks among the Mohammedan population, and the Mohammedan regulations concerning intoxicants were not carried out as strictly as they would have been because of the presence of liquor-drinking Britishers and other foreigners.

The rest of this Congo trip has been rather fully described in the chapter on Episcopal Activities. But when I reached Bulawayo in Northern Rhodesia, the memory of my addresses in 1922 still lingered, and during the day of waiting on train schedules I made two addresses, one at a tea in the afternoon, and the other at night to a large, intelligent, and greatly interested audience. Northern Rhodesia was then and is still a crown colony. Under the influence of Cecil Rhodes, the great leader of the colony, it has maintained its independence of the Cape Government.

On this trip I made still further investigation of the system of religious instruction established by Cecil Rhodes for the public schools of Rhodesia, and was the more impressed that his was the best solution of that serious and difficult problem.

Shortly before sailing I had made an address at the Broadway Methodist Church in New York under the auspices of the Anti-Saloon League of New York. The resolutions proposed for adoption declared that the liquor program of the nullificationists, led by Governor Alfred Emanuel Smith, was quite subtle, but not particularly clever. In speaking concerning the resolutions I declared that I was a States'-Rights Southern Democrat, and that speaking as a lifelong Democrat, I did not believe that if the Democratic party nominated a wet for the presidency in 1928,

and the Republican party nominated a dry, the Southern democracy would support the Democratic nominee.

This statement was widely commented upon by the secular press, the New York press especially interpreting it as a direct challenge to the supporters of Governor Smith.

While I was on my trip to the Congo, there was a discussion between the Honorable Charles Marshall¹⁹ and Governor Alfred Emanuel Smith as to the attitude of American Catholics toward obedience to the encyclicals of the Pope. In connection with this discussion I sent a statement from shipboard to the *Nashville Christian Advocate* concerning the subject of the Marshall-Smith discussion, from which I quote:

In any discussion of the probable results of the nomination of Governor Smith it is difficult to eliminate the fact of his relation to the Roman Catholic Church. While the injection of the religious issue into the Presidential campaign is certainly to be depreciated it is a matter which cannot be ignored. To illustrate: In March, 1926, a resolution was introduced in the House of Representatives by Representative [John J.] Boylan, a Roman Catholic Congressman from New York City, which resolution called upon the President to withdraw recognition of the Mexican government because of its treatment of purely internal religious matters. The resolution was referred to committee, and was then advocated most vigorously by prominent Romanist officials who claimed, without any denial of the claim, that they officially represented the entire American Roman Catholic Church—cardinals, archbishops and bishops, priests, Knights of Columbus, Holy Name Societies, etc. This incident indicated the peril of the nation which would follow from the election of a "loyal son of the Church" to the office of President. Could such a one refuse to yield to the insistent unanimous pressure of the Pope, cardinals, archbishops, etc.? Whether correct or not, there are millions of fair-minded Americans who are fully convinced that it would be unwise to elect a man President who would be subject to the strain of such Romanist appeals. The religious question does not arise from the bigotry or intolerance of Protestants. It is the natural result of the perfectly sincere, but no less un-American Roman Catholic attitude concerning the relation of Church and State. Romanism insists that the Pope and the hierarchy have the right to interfere not only in spiritual but in temporal matters of government also, which Protestantism flatly and emphatically denies. Governor Smith's relation to Romanism would prevent a great number of Democrats from voting for him because of their perfectly honest disagreement with Romish teaching

19. Charles Clinton Marshall (1860-1938), New York lawyer, was the author of *The Roman Catholic Church in the Modern State* (1928) and the Report of The Hague Congress of the International Academy of Comparative Law on "The Historical Relation of Law and Religion in Its American Aspect" (1932). The controversy referred to here is in regard to his "Open Letter to the Honorable Alfred E. Smith," *Atlantic Monthly*, CXXXIX (April, 1927), 540-549. Smith's reply appeared in May, CXXXIX, 721 ff.

on the relation of Church and State, which has been emphasized wherever the Romish Church has had the power. This is simply a matter of fact which cannot be ignored.

The Roman Catholic paper, *America*, commenting on the Smith-Marshall discussion, declared:

To every encyclical, or exhortation [of the Pope] the loyal Catholic at once yields respect and complete obedience. He knows of no Papal utterance which he is "at liberty to disregard," just as he knows of none which imperils his allegiance as a citizen. He measures his respect, his assent, external and internal, by no short yardstick.

This statement makes very clear that the hierarchy does not see things exactly as Governor Smith has seen them, and as he stated in his reply to Mr. Marshall.

Shortly after these discussions, upon my return home from the Congo, I received a request from Dr. Albert Shaw, editor of the *Review of Reviews*, for a statement for publication. Dr. Shaw prefaced my statement with the following:²⁰

Bishop James Cannon, Jr., holds a position in the Methodist Church of the South which has made him an official leader of great movements for temperance and social advancement. The views that he expresses upon prohibition are not merely personal. They are representative of the prohibition sentiment that is virtually unanimous in the field of Southern Methodism, as shown by resolutions adopted in local and state conferences. The same views on the subject of prohibition are generally prevalent among Southern Baptists, not to mention Presbyterians and other religious denominations. In response to a request from the editor, Bishop Cannon has made a brief, summarized statement for our readers on this subject, and herewith we present his trenchant remarks on the present attitude of Southern prohibition.

Some extracts follow:

There are three statements which are essential to be made in my judgment for a correct understanding of the present situation. They are: first, the position of dry Southern Democrats on the prohibition issue; second, the violent attacks on the Prohibition Law and its enforcement, including as a climax, the proposed nomination of a wet Democratic Presidential candidate; third, the reaction of dry Southern Democrats to that proposal.

Dry Southern Democrats hold that constitutional prohibition represents the high-water mark attained by the American people to promote the general welfare by the restriction of the indulgence of individuals for the benefit of the entire social order. We believe that wherever its enforcement has not been

20. "The Militant Prohibition Stand," *American Review of Reviews*, LXXVII (March, 1928), 261-262.

defeated by inefficient or hostile administrative officers that it has been a great success. By it labor has been enriched, business enlarged, public savings amazingly multiplied, the comfort and security of the home life of the middle and working classes greatly increased, and the general social morality advanced.

But today we dry Southern Democrats face the fact that the outstanding public question is Prohibition Law Enforcement; indeed, nullification is openly advocated. The governors of two great states, although sworn to uphold the constitution, have flatly refused to co-operate with the federal government in the enforcement of the Prohibition Law. . . . And now as a climax dry Southern Democrats are faced with the proposal that they agree to vote for some avowedly wet Democrat who will be able to secure the support of a sufficient number of wet voters in Northern and Eastern states to give him the electoral votes of those states, which combined with the electoral vote of the dry Southern states will be sufficient to elect him President of the United States. In short, the dry Southern Democrats are asked to subordinate their moral convictions to partisan political loyalty. They are invited to commit moral suicide for political office. But it is not to be overlooked that such a man would have the appointment of prohibition enforcement officials, of District Attorneys and Federal Judges and of Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States. His power of veto would extend to all prohibition legislation or appropriation.

Faced with such a proposition multiplied thousands of dry Southern Democrats openly prefer that the Democratic Party shall never elect another President rather than to succeed by such an unholy alliance, such a betrayal of their moral principles. . . . Therefore, they are openly declaring that they will not vote for any man with such records as those of Reed, Ritchie and Smith. In this crisis they will demand (1) a Prohibition Law Enforcement plank in the platform; and (2) the nomination of a candidate to stand upon that platform, who by his utterances, acts and records is thoroughly committed to the effective enforcement of the Eighteenth Amendment and statutory legislation pertaining thereto.

These two statements, one concerning the attitude of the average Protestant voter toward Governor Smith's membership in the Roman Catholic Church, and the other concerning the refusal of dry Southern Democrats to subordinate their moral convictions to partisan political loyalty, are given here because they were written a full year before the nomination of Governor Smith, and they stated frankly and clearly my position on both questions. There is no taint of bigotry or intolerance in the statement concerning the effect on Protestant voters of Governor Smith's Romanism, but an unprejudiced appraisal of the possible effect upon the policies of the nation should a subject of the Pope be in the White House.

The second statement is positive and unequivocal, and declares what

I believed would be the attitude of dry Southern Democrats in case Governor Smith should be nominated by the Democratic party. The whole country was put on notice by me from the time of the Springfield General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1924, that dry Southern Democrats would not support any Democrat like [James A.] Reed, [Albert Cabell] Ritchie, or Smith for the Presidency. To declare, therefore, as was done later on during the 1928 campaign, that my opposition to Governor Smith was based on bigotry and intolerance was, as I declared then, simply an effort to gain votes by the cry of persecution for religious convictions, whereas repeated warnings had been given that dry votes would not be given to elect a wet candidate, simply because he was nominated by a Democratic Convention and carried the Democratic label.

Dr. Wayne B. Wheeler had been a sick man for over a year, but he continued at his post in Washington, and, as I had always thought, continued to emphasize unduly his right to act as a spokesman for the Anti-Saloon League when no action had been taken by any of the governing bodies of the League. The general public assumed that he spoke with authority, but he knew that he did not, and he knew that some of his methods were contrary to the views of the governing Executive and Legislative Committees. His biographer states that after some of Dr. Wheeler's public statements as to League policies had been declared by the committee to be unauthorized, "Wheeler had then promised to restrain himself, but when a crisis arose he could not resist the temptation to set forth his own attitude, which was usually accepted as the League's decision" (by those who did not know the attitude of the governing committees).

In the summer of 1927 Dr. Wheeler allowed this assumption of the right to speak for the Anti-Saloon League to go so far that it was not possible to permit his statement to go without contradiction. So after demanding that Dr. Wheeler either publicly withdraw or thoroughly revise his statements, which he refused to do, not anticipating what action would be taken, a reply was given to the press signed by Dr. Arthur J. Barton, chairman of the Executive Committee of the Anti-Saloon League of America, and also chairman of the Committee on Temperance of the Southern Baptist Convention, and by Bishop James Cannon, Jr., chairman of the Legislative Committee of the Anti-Saloon League of America, and also chairman of the Board of Temperance and Social Service of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, which reply was as follows:

Some days ago Dr. Wayne B. Wheeler issued a statement to the press from which we quote: "There will be at least one of the national dominant

parties which will have a satisfactory candidate for the maintenance and enforcement of the Eighteenth Amendment. There is a possibility that both will be satisfactory. Then the League keeps hands off. If Governor Smith is nominated, and the drys in the South would rather vote for an Independent dry candidate for President than for a dry Republican this would give them a chance to register their protest."

From the wording of the entire statement, as well as of the words quoted above, the secular press generally, certainly in the South, has very naturally considered this to be an authoritative declaration of the Anti-Saloon League of America, but this is not the case. This is not an official declaration by the Anti-Saloon League of America. It is simply the expression of the opinion of Dr. Wheeler, one official of the League. Therefore, as dry Southern Democrat officials of the League for very many years we have reached the conclusion that it is right and necessary, in order that there may be no further misunderstanding that the Southern press and people at least shall know that we did not join, and do not now join in this statement by Dr. Wheeler as to certain political contingencies. We do not think it appropriate or helpful for any League official to declare that one party (in this case the Republican party, as the context thoroughly implies) will nominate a candidate satisfactory to the Anti-Saloon League of America while the Democrats will nominate a wet candidate; and furthermore to imply that many dry Southern Democrats would be too narrow to vote for the satisfactory dry Republican, but would demand the nomination of an independent dry Democrat, even though there would be absolutely no possibility of his election. . . .

Finally, altogether apart from our official relation to the Anti-Saloon League of America, but in our capacity as chairmen of the Boards of Temperance of our respective denominations (Southern Baptist and Southern Methodist) we think it proper to state that in our judgment dry Southern Democrats will never agree to the nomination of Smith, Reed, Ritchie or any other wet Democrat, but will demand that the National Democratic Convention respect the convictions of dry Southern Democrats without whose votes no Democrat can be elected President of the United States. If the Democratic Convention does not respect those convictions and should nominate a wet Democrat, then dry Democrats North, as well as South, will doubtless confer together and determine what course they will follow.

Therefore, on June 29 I sent Dr. Wheeler the following telegram:

*Dr. Wayne B. Wheeler,
R. F. D. Little Point Sable,
Shelby, Mich.*

Think statement of June twenty-seventh suggesting South prefer vote Independent Dry Democrat for President exceedingly unwise, damaging, irritating to Southern Democratic leaders who resent suggestions of that character from Anti-Saloon League, and especially from outstanding Republican officials of the League. No League officer has any authority to speak for Anti-

Saloon League without official action taken by some authorized committee or board. Personally as one official of League must protest against such statements in name of League. Upon return after four months' absence correspondence and conversations indicate greatly increased feeling against increasing intrusion of League in political matters. Regret necessity constrains these critical comments.

JAMES CANNON, JR.

Dr. Wheeler wired briefly and followed his telegram with a lengthy letter trying to justify his course and declining to make any public change in his statement.

This statement by Dr. Barton and myself was declared by the secular press to indicate a split in the Anti-Saloon League and the beginning of Dr. Wheeler's retirement, although there was certainly no thought in the mind of Dr. Barton or myself other than to deny the right of any single official to speak for the Anti-Saloon League of America, and to deny that any governing body of the League had authorized, or would authorize, such an intensely political statement.

In reply Dr. Wheeler gave out from his Michigan summer home the statement: "Dr. Wayne B. Wheeler today, referring to his discussion of political possibilities, disclaimed the construction that the Anti-Saloon League would initiate the nomination of an independent dry Presidential candidate if neither dominant party candidate is right on the prohibition question."

In my judgment it would have been far better for Dr. Wheeler to have made a statement for the press that he had made a mistake in giving out his former statement, but having given to the country through the press our statement quoted above, there was nothing to be gained by pursuing the matter any further. His biographer correctly states: "It was his first public reprimand." It did not come without ample warning. Time and again in the committees of the League, executive and legislative, it had been declared that no single official was authorized to make public statements as to League policies. The biographer states further: "The men who administered it were his friends, they loved him and appreciated him. . . . Wheeler sorely felt the reproof that had been administered."

He wrote to me insisting that I should have sent him a copy of the statement which Dr. Barton and I made in order that he might have been able to better explain to us and to defend himself, but I wrote him that my telegram was clear and he should have understood from that telegram just what would be our position.

It perhaps should be said that our Southern Democratic dry leaders were gratified at the statement by Dr. Barton and myself. However, I fully realized in July, 1927, that the fight of 1924 for Smith's nomination would be repeated in 1928 with far greater odds in his favor. Democratic officialdom was hungry for political offices. There was no prominent dry leader in sight with a chance to win the nomination. It became increasingly important to maintain the morale of the dry Southern Democratic voters, so that in the event the Democratic organization did lead the organized Democratic party to commit moral suicide by the nomination of Governor Smith, it would be possible to split the solid South on the moral issue, in the vote for the presidency without imperiling the election of dry Southern congressmen or senators.

I did not get home from the Congo until June 24, and my strength had been so depleted by the severe African malarial fever that my physicians ordered as little work and strain as possible, and a speedy return to Switzerland that I might be spared all routine work and have the advantage of the ocean voyage and mountain air. I therefore sailed for Europe again on July 22 . . . [and thus had] only four weeks in which to catch up the loose threads of things which had happened during my four months' absence.

Newspaper discussion was still raging concerning the "Appeal to the Industrial Leaders of the South," and it was necessary to make some replies to some of the articles. It was necessary also to hold the annual meeting of the Board of Temperance and Social Service. The board met at Lake Junaluska and first elected the Reverend J. Sidney Peters as General Secretary. Greatly to my regret, he declined to accept the position, chiefly owing to the fact that he had a large and growing family and did not think that he should be absent from home as the position would require. He had all the qualifications necessary for a position of that kind, and as I had worked with him so closely for over twenty years I felt that I could divide the burden with him of the heavy work which I saw in the near future.

After he declined, the board elected Dr. Eugene L. Crawford,²¹ who for the next seven years co-operated with me as closely in the work of the board as any secretary could have done. He was one of the finest Christian gentlemen I have ever met. He not only knew what a gentleman should and what he should not do, but he was so made that he could never do anything but the gentlemanly thing. He was truly one of the most sincere, pure-minded, and unselfish men I have ever known. . . .

21. Eugene L. Crawford (1871-1934), Alabama clergyman, was Director of the Alabama Anti-Saloon League and General Secretary Board of Temperance and Social Service (1927-1934).

While I had been absent, the Hearst newspapers had published a number of extracts from the minutes of the Anti-Saloon League and photographic facsimiles of letters which had been subpoenaed by the Reed Committee and which had been secured by Hearst methods from the Reed Committee. These Hearst papers were endeavoring in every possible way to damage the prestige of the Anti-Saloon League. Scrappy replies were being made which I considered to be inadequate and not sufficiently official. As the date of my sailing had been set for July 22, I wired, insisting: "Hearst publications involve too many persons, too important interests for small group formulate replies, expecting other officials involved to authorize telegraphic signatures without opportunity for criticism and conference."

Not receiving prompt, satisfactory reply I wired again: "Answer promptly. Salaried officials alone should not shape reply to Hearst publications."

These telegrams resulted in a conference at Detroit on July 17, which after a thorough consideration of all the facts gave to the press a full, sweeping, crushing statement annihilating the charges of the Hearst paper. This statement was signed by Bishop Thomas Nicholson, president; Dr. Arthur J. Barton, chairman Executive Committee; Bishop James Cannon, Jr., chairman Legislative Committee (none of these three were paid officials of the League); Dr. F. Scott McBride, General Superintendent; H. H. Russell, Associate General Superintendent; Wayne B. Wheeler, General Counsel and Legislative Superintendent; Ernest H. Cherrington, General Manager of Publishing Interests.

There was no difference of opinion concerning the substance of this statement, and it carried with it as great weight as any statement could have carried, except resolutions adopted by the National Board of Directors. This was the last conference of the ranking officers of the League participated in by Dr. Wheeler. His mind was bright and clear, but I recognized that physically he was in far worse shape than I was, although I did expect him to recuperate after a good rest and medical treatment. We did not discuss the recent public press difference of opinion. He knew that Dr. Barton and I were both his friends, and I am sure he realized that we had done only what we really considered to be necessary to be done for the best interest of our common cause. I hoped that our action would prevent any similar statement from him during my absence in Europe for the next two months. But the situation as I envisaged it was so serious that I was really fearful as to what might happen within the next two months.²² . .

22. Cannon was both startled and amused to read at this time an editorial in the

While I was seeking health and attending the Faith and Order Conference at Lausanne, Switzerland, the shocking news was received by cable that Mrs. Wayne B. Wheeler had been burned to death by the explosion of a gasoline stove, and that her father at the sight of her body enveloped by flames had dropped dead from heart disease. I cabled and wrote at once to Dr. Wheeler expressing my deep sympathy and my solicitude as to its effect upon his own health. Dr. Wheeler is reported to have borne the shock of this distressing calamity with extraordinary outward calm, but knowing as I did the closeness of the ties which bound him and Mrs. Wheeler together, I could not but know that inwardly he was shocked to the very core of his being.

He attended the Convention of the World League against Alcoholism at Winona Lake, where he made his last address, giving simply a brief summary of the principal points of his last talk to his prohibition friends and coworkers, distributing printed copies of the entire address. No one at the convention expected him ever to speak again, but he himself continued to be optimistic. But the end was near. A few days after his arrival at his summer home, Little Point Sable, on Lake Michigan, he was taken suddenly ill, carried at once to Battle Creek Sanatorium, where on September 5 he suddenly died.

I was not greatly surprised, although I had expected that he would live some weeks or months longer. I regretted that I was not able to be present at his funeral, for my personal relations with Dr. Wheeler and his family had always been exceedingly pleasant, and I was a frequent visitor in his home when in Washington, and greatly appreciated his many fine qualities. His funeral was held at the Central Methodist Church, Columbus, where only three weeks before he had attended the services for Mrs. Wheeler and her father. . . .

Undoubtedly, Dr. Wheeler was one of the ablest, if not the ablest, political leader ever associated with the prohibition cause. He was a firm believer in his own policies, and while he was obliged to admit in discussions in the Executive Committee that he had frequently transcended the bounds of sound Anti-Saloon League policies, yet he not only always claimed justification for the course which he had followed at any given time, but he honestly believed that he was justified in following the policy which he did.

normally hostile Richmond *Times-Dispatch* entitled "Bishop Cannon Is Needed," and stating that "the wisest course the prohibitionists . . . could follow would be to authorize Bishop Cannon, and Bishop Cannon alone, to guide their course in national politics, and to explain and defend their cause." Cannon cites this as being from the Richmond *Times-Dispatch*, July 29, 1927.

The outstanding fact remained that after six years of "standing in" with the Republican administration, federal law enforcement had been inefficient and inadequate, and the country at large had begun to think more and more of the Anti-Saloon League as a political, or a least a semipolitical organization than its aims and its organization really justified.

Upon my return to the United States I found that the uppermost matter in the minds of those interested in the future of prohibition was the probable action of the Democratic party at the convention in 1928. Senator Glass of Virginia, in response to a request from Dr. Albert Shaw, sent an article to the *Review of Reviews* [May, 1927] in which he declared:

That if Governor Smith should be nominated for the presidency on a sound and sane platform the fact that he is a Catholic would not, as it certainly should not, cause him to lose Virginia, or any other Southern state at the election. . . . At the recent state election in Virginia we nominated and elected a Catholic to the office of State Treasurer, albeit, he ran far behind his ticket. . . . Al Smith has perhaps made the most effective and useful Governor of New York since the regime of Samuel J. Tilden. He is highly accomplished in the science of government and experienced in its practical administration. He is undoubtedly one of the most notable men of the age. However, this does not mean that Virginia would favor the nomination of Smith, or that I personally advocate it. I do believe the first to be a fact. I know the other is not. Should Governor Smith be nominated as an exponent of the view that the Eighteenth Amendment of the Federal Constitution should be repealed, or molested, or that the Volstead Act should be superseded by legislation which would actually render the Eighteenth Amendment ineffective he would, in my judgment, be badly beaten in Virginia and the South and the country. And should the Democratic Party at its National Convention make antagonism to prohibition a test of party fealty in the presidential election, it will be so badly wrecked as to make futile any attempt even to guess the time of its recovery. . . .

Should Governor Smith in a square, stand-up contest get the Democratic nomination for the presidency upon a sound and sane declaration of fundamental doctrines and policies—one of which is not the avowed right to sell, or to buy, or to transport intoxicating liquors—he should not, and I venture to think he would not be made a sacrifice to religious bigotry in Virginia, or the South, or the country, whatever might be the intolerant attitude of those who hate the Catholic Church. Nevertheless, the country would have to be convinced that he was standing for election not as an enemy of the Eighteenth Amendment to the Constitution, or as a statutory nullificationist, but as a Democrat in principle, frankly obedient to the Constitution as it stands; for an aggressive enforcement of law, as well as for an honest and frugal administra-

tion of the government. If he would desire or expect to be nominated or elected he would better be sure not to identify himself, or have his friends identify him or attempt to identify his party with those who would tamper with the Constitution or the laws enacted by sanction of it. . . .

Prohibition is not a party question, but a moral problem. The Volstead Law is not sacrosanct. Congress at any time, within the limitations of the Constitution, can alter or repeal its provisions. . . . It should be fought out in Congressional Districts when the Representatives are chosen, and in the respective states when the Senators are selected, and never be made a party issue in a presidential campaign. . . .

With a very pronounced aversion to any public discussion of my own views of the approaching presidential problem I scarcely had time to prepare this present statement in clarification of an unauthorized and incorrect publication of my alleged position before two or three prohibition zealots hastened into print in sharp criticism. It is this culpable intemperance with a sad incapacity to use reason in place of emotion that makes persons of this type the very worst enemies of the Eighteenth Amendment and the statutes provided for its enforcement. By their bitterness and positive effrontery they do the cause of prohibition infinitely greater harm than all the "wringing wet" politicians between the two oceans. It is this intolerable lot of ring-masters that tempts not a few judicious people to question the complete wisdom of a public policy for which such a group may assume to speak. . . .

The critical official of the Anti-Saloon League who feverishly commented on my protest against making prohibition a Democratic party issue in the presidential campaign, seems utterly ignorant of the fact that in this respect I simply paraphrased, if I did not state literally, the position taken by the Anti-Saloon League itself at San Francisco in 1920 when Bishop James Cannon, as chairman of its Legislative Committee, was its spokesman. I was Chairman of the Committee on Resolutions of the National Democratic Convention and wrote the major part of the platform.

Mr. George Brannan and his wet associates wanted a declaration of light wines and beer, and Mr. William J. Bryan wanted a declaration endorsing the Eighteenth Amendment and the Volstead Act. Bishop Cannon, representing the Anti-Saloon League, appeared before the Committee and, urging that prohibition was not a political question, but a moral issue, strongly contended against any party declaration on the subject. He said it was a matter to be fought out in the Congressional Districts and by Congress under constitutional limitations.

Hence, the jaunty gentleman who was so quick the other day to jest sarcastically about my agreement with Bishop Cannon's view will search the San Francisco platform in vain for any declaration on the subject of prohibition.

I may not be a prophet; but I confess to having common sense enough to foresee that if the Democratic Party in 1928 assumes to make a political

issue of prohibition, or to nominate a candidate because he favors the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment, it will be swamped. . . .

The importance of the above statement of the published views of Senator Glass will be readily recognized by what did actually take place in the campaign of 1928 which is discussed later on in this volume. . . .

During my absence on my trip to the Congo I gave out an interview in Paris around April 15 [1927]. This statement was criticized by Senator William E. Borah in an article entitled "The Future of the Eighteenth Amendment." This article began with the following statement:

Bishop James Cannon, Jr., Chairman of the Board of Temperance of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, gave out an interview on April 15th last, in which he declared that the Eighteenth Amendment and its enforcement could not, and should not, become a party question, and that no effort should be made to make it a party question. With great respect for Bishop Cannon, I venture the opinion that if that course is effectually pursued and becomes a settled policy of the supporters of the Amendment, then the maintenance and enforcement of the Eighteenth Amendment becomes an utter impossibility.

My exact language in that interview as published in the *New York Times* was as follows:

Senator Robinson's statement that in the very nature of the question prohibition cannot be made a party issue exactly agrees with the facts, and with the position which the Board of Temperance of my own Church, and also the Anti-Saloon League of America have consistently taken. Prohibition has not been, and is not today, a partisan political issue. The Prohibition Party endeavored to handle prohibition as a partisan political question, and utterly failed.

Neither the Eighteenth Amendment nor Statewide Prohibition laws have been endorsed in the platform, or by Conventions of the two great political parties. They have been proposed, advocated and finally adopted as non-partisan legislation, on which it was clearly recognized that the Democrats and Republicans alike were hopelessly divided. At both the San Francisco and New York Conventions Mr. Bryan favored a Prohibition plank in the platform, and at San Francisco fought strenuously on the Committee and in the Convention for its insertion. It fell to my lot to lead the opposition to such action by the Platform Committee and to insist instead upon the Law Enforcement plank, which action was recommended by the Committee, and was approved by the New York Convention. Efforts by Senators Bruce, Edwards and others to brand the Democratic Party as wet have been flatly repudiated by the Democratic Senatorial caucus (according to Senator Robinson's statement), and the position of the caucus in favor of the Law Enforcement plank will logically eliminate both Smith and Ritchie, for both have favored

practically nonenforcement policies. The nomination of either Smith or Ritchie will make the paramount issue of the campaign neither Democracy nor Republicanism, nor even Prohibition. The issue will be Nullification versus Observance of the Constitution, Lawlessness versus Law Enforcement.

This quotation from the Paris interview indicates very clearly that I did not declare, as Senator Borah states, "that the Eighteenth Amendment and *its enforcement* could not and should not become a party question." I did declare that the *Eighteenth Amendment itself* should not become a party question, but it is absolutely necessary for any proper understanding of my position, and of those who agree with me, that the advocacy of the Eighteenth Amendment as embodying a belief in the principle of prohibition should be carefully discriminated from insistence upon the *enforcement* of the Eighteenth Amendment as the supreme law of the land.

I was in full agreement with the purpose of Senator Borah's article. We both desired the upholding and the enforcement of the Eighteenth Amendment. We were agreed in our opposition not only to ordinary law-breaking, but to that special form of law-breaking which attempted to surround itself with a halo of courage, and even of conscience in openly defying a law which inconveniently thwarts the legal gratification of a sensual appetite.

The advocacy of nullification may take the form advocated and successfully carried out by Governor Smith of repealing the New York State Prohibition Enforcement Code, or by Governor Ritchie of successfully opposing the passage of any state enforcement prohibition law for Maryland. But while the first question was somewhat as Senator Borah stated it: "Shall the Constitution of the United States be upheld and enforced until it is repealed?," there is also a second question, as Senator Borah well knew from his debate with President Butler, namely: "Shall the Eighteenth Amendment be repealed?" The first question was a question of law enforcement pure and simple, the second question was constitutional, namely, After a trial of the Eighteenth Amendment, shall it be repealed?

I thought that Senator Borah did minimize, if he did not ignore, the very great difference between these two positions. A man may be honest and law-abiding and stand for the enforcement of the Eighteenth Amendment as long as it is the law of the land, and yet that same man may refuse absolutely to endorse the principle contained in the Eighteenth Amendment, stating his reasons for his opposition thereto, and his insistence that it is a bad law and should be repealed.

The practical question was, "Shall it be demanded that the Democratic or the Republican party adopt a plank which declares the party to be in favor of the principle contained in the Eighteenth Amendment, or shall it adopt a plank demanding that the Eighteenth Amendment be enforced equally with all other provisions in the Constitution?"

Senator Robinson in his statement certainly intimated that he agreed with the Democratic caucus that the Democratic party should reiterate its previous pledge for the enforcement of the Eighteenth Amendment, but that it should not adopt a plank which should bind the members of the Democratic party to a belief in the principle of prohibition. I agreed on April 15 in my interview in Paris, and having read Senator Borah's article with great care, I found in it no reason advanced to change my views; indeed Senator Borah presented facts and arguments which supported my position.

Senator Borah wrote:

After fifty years of effort, after trying small units and large units, after licensing and local option, after traveling back and forth over the ground and getting nowhere the people concluded to outlaw the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors for beverage purposes, and to write the terms of outlawry in the supreme law of the land. It was an extraordinary thing to do. Never before had a great nation taken a similar task, but the people were for the undertaking. Forty-six out of the forty-eight states approved and ratified the amendment.

But what was the method which was proposed and followed by the Anti-Saloon League? It was the nonpartisan, the omnipartisan policy of asking for no political party platforms, but of advocating and demanding the election of individual candidates in both parties who favored the prohibition policy. Senator Borah's statement itself indicated the same thing. Senator Borah himself states very forcibly that the present issue is not the Eighteenth Amendment itself, but the enforcement of the Eighteenth Amendment. He said:

If the proposal was to repeal the proposition politically, it would be wholly different. But that is not the proposal. Nullification is to be accepted as a just and wise rule of conduct for communities, states, and the nation. It is proposed to adopt nullification as a method of legislation as it were. Are we with such a proposal confronting us to be told that this is not to be made a party question, that there may be some in our party who do not believe in upholding the Constitution until it is repealed? What kind of a cowardly, political expediency is that?

I submit that there was not one word in my interview in Paris of April 15, 1927, which even intimated that nullification could not and

should not be very properly denounced in party platforms, or that law enforcement should not be demanded in the strongest possible terms. On the contrary that is what I always did demand, and is what I demanded should be contained in the platforms of both great parties in 1928 as a direct reply to the advocates of nullification in both parties. But that is not demanding that political parties adopt a plank declaring in favor of the *principle of prohibition* contained in the Eighteenth Amendment.

Senator Borah's plan might secure the adoption of a prohibition plank in a party platform, but that plank would have been practically worthless unless the nominees of the party should be favorable to enforcement of the Prohibition Law. I insisted that we should elect in the future, as in the past, supporters of prohibition in both parties, and should demand from these dry legislators, congressmen and senators, whatever amendments to the existing law, and whatever appropriations might be necessary to enforce the Eighteenth Amendment.

Senator Borah rendered the cause of prohibition great service by his positive, uncompromising, unanswerable advocacy of its maintenance and enforcement as a wise, beneficent law, but I do not think that he was discriminating, accurate, or warranted in describing "as cowardly, political expediency a policy which resulted in the ratification of the Eighteenth Amendment, and which, if carried out as successfully in the future as in the past, would secure the election, and the appointment of dry officials, and through them the effective enforcement of the prohibition law."

This discussion concerning "The Future of the Eighteenth Amendment" between Senator Borah and myself is strongly emphasized because it emphasizes that on October 13, 1927, the date of the publication of my reply to Senator Borah, I insisted in reply to one of the ablest, most sincere advocates of prohibition in the United States that the greatest issue in the prohibition situation was law enforcement *versus* nullification, law observance *versus* selfish individualism, and was not at that time "Shall the prohibition amendment be repealed?"

I was thoroughly satisfied from my knowledge of the attitude of the leadership of both parties, as well as of the rank and file in Congress, that neither political party convention would go the length of proposing the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment. The Paris interview in April, 1927, and the reply to Senator Borah in October, 1927, both brought out in bold relief that I stood for a prohibition law enforcement plank in both party platforms, and for nominees for the presidency who would pledge themselves to an efficient enforcement of the law. I also, both in

April and in October, 1927, emphasized that the position of Governor Smith and Governor Ritchie would make the paramount issue of the campaign to be nullification versus law enforcement.

The whole country knew, through both the secular and the religious press, that the nomination or the election of Governor Smith or Governor Ritchie would be opposed by the prohibition leadership of the country for the reasons which have been fully stated above. No question of religious bigotry or Roman Catholicism was involved in my statement in Paris in April, 1927, nor in my discussion with Senator Borah in October, 1927. Had I not opposed the nomination or election of Governor Smith to the presidency, I would have stultified myself, would have repudiated a lifetime record, would have betrayed the trust of leadership which had been committed to me by millions of citizens; indeed, would have committed moral suicide to maintain a false idea of loyalty to the Democratic party, when, as I have already stated, the issue in such a campaign was not Republicanism versus Democracy, but lawlessness versus law observance.

As further emphasizing this exceedingly baseless and utterly unfounded charge of religious bigotry made against me by the official Democratic party leadership, and the wet secular press during the campaign of 1928, I call attention to two addresses made by myself, one at the Virginia Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, on November 12, 1927, in Danville, Virginia; the other at the convention of the Anti-Saloon League of America in Washington, D. C., on December 7, 1927. So important did I consider these addresses to be that I wrote in full every word, and read closely from my manuscript without any extemporaneous insertion whatever.

I spoke at the Virginia Conference as chairman of the Board of Temperance and Social Service of our Church. I called the attention of the Conference to the fact that for nearly half a century that great Conference had been in the forefront of the battle against the liquor traffic. . . . I called the Conference to face the situation which confronted it, and which called for expression of its attitude in view of the fact that the future effectiveness of the Eighteenth Amendment would be tremendously affected by the results of the approaching presidential campaign.

I especially attacked not only the attitude but the activities of Governors Ritchie and Smith. The former, by his actively successful opposition to the passage of any state prohibition law enforcement code by the Legislature of Maryland, and by his personal and official denunciation of the Prohibition Law, had brought about such a reign of lawlessness in Maryland that Federal Judge Soper had condemned from the

bench in seething language the failure of the state of Maryland to co-operate in upholding the Constitution, which, be it remembered, Governor Ritchie, as well as Governor Smith, had solemnly sworn to support. Both had ignored their oaths.

But the activities of Governor Smith, while not more hostile in intention than those of Governor Ritchie, had been far more damaging to the enforcement of the Prohibition Law because of his greater and more prominent field of operation. Notwithstanding his oath to support the Constitution of the United States, he evidently did not consider that this oath included the Eighteenth Amendment, for he signed the bill to repeal the prohibition enforcement law of New York State,²³ and purposely left the great City and State of New York without any local prohibition enforcement law or officers, thus wiping out all co-operation of the officials of the State of New York with the federal government to enforce the Eighteenth Amendment effectively.

I stated that I personally thought that the President of the United States should have accepted the challenge so ostentatiously thrown down by Governor Smith, and should have promptly called upon Congress to provide the money and the men to secure as effective enforcement of the prohibition law in New York State as in any other state in the Union. Millions would have been well spent in vindication of the majesty and the supremacy of the national government, in quelling this modern-day whiskey rebellion by the wet foreign-born population of the city of New York, whose police force is absolutely dominated by Tammany, and by Governor Smith as one of the leading Tammany Sachems.

But the administration appeared to prefer to allow New York to "stew in its own juice" of liquor lawlessness and crime rather than to call upon Congress for what was necessary to defeat the nullification policy of Governor Smith, who, although he had three times taken the oath to support the Constitution of the United States, including the Eighteenth Amendment, had done all in his power to prevent effective prohibition enforcement. If such a man should by any chance secure the nomination for the presidency of the United States, I declared that he should be opposed, not only by all supporters of the Prohibition Law, but by all lovers of decency and fair play, regardless of party lines. . . .

We are here as representatives of a part of the moral and religious forces of this ancient, historic Commonwealth. We have labored earnestly and fought persistently for these long years to secure the enactment of the greatest piece of social legislation ever adopted in any country by any age. There-

23. See p. 327 n. 21.

fore, we absolutely refuse to surrender our convictions on this great moral question to aid in securing a purely political party triumph in the election of a President, Democrat or Republican, whose election would be a menace to the final success of the beneficent, salutary Prohibition Law.

My address at the Virginia Conference was published exactly as it was delivered by the Richmond *Times-Dispatch* under the headline, "All Candidates of Wet Tendencies Are Banned by Bishop Cannon in Vigorous Statement at Danville." . . .

The New York *Times* gave about a column to the address under the heading: "Bishop Cannon Puts Smith Out as a Wet. He Urges Virginia Methodist to Cut Party Ties to Elect a Dry. Sees Issue as Paramount." . . .

There was not the slightest intimation in the newspaper reports of the Danville address but that my appeal for action against wet candidates was based upon the paramount importance of the prohibition issue. No news report or comment which I saw had any reference to bigotry or religious intolerance.

On December 7 I delivered an address before the Anti-Saloon League Convention in Washington, D. C., with the title, "Shall Dry America Elect a Cocktail President?" In addition to the statements made before the Virginia Conference, I called attention to an article in the issue of the *Nation* of November 30 by the editor, Mr. Oswald Garrison Villard. As my statements on this matter in the 1928 campaign were misrepresented, I give here the statement which I made on December 7, 1927:

Continuing his discussion of presidential possibilities, Mr. Villard discussed Governor Alfred E. Smith. Mr. Villard said: "Do you believe in electing to the presidency a man who drinks too much for his own good, and is politically a rampant wet? Does Al drink, and does he drink too much? I am reliably informed that he drinks every day, and the number of his cocktails and his highballs is variously estimated at from four to eight. It is positively denied that he is ever intoxicated, much gossip to the contrary notwithstanding. He is wet and he lives up to it, and for that consistency he is to be praised. One may regret with all his heart, as does the writer of these lines, that being in an exalted position he cannot set an example of abstinence to the millions whose state he governs, but at least one knows where he stands."

There was never any denial from any source of the statement made by Mr. Villard as quoted above. In discussing Mr. Villard's declaration I raised the question as to how a President of the United States who drank from four to eight cocktails a day could manage to secure and to

have intoxicants legally. To do so it would be necessary to transport a stock of intoxicants from his private residence to the White House, which intoxicants had been purchased before 1920, or he would be obliged to indulge his appetite by visiting friends in Washington who might have stocked their liquors before 1920, or finally he would be obliged to purchase such intoxicants from persons who in selling to him would be violating the Constitution, which he, as President, had solemnly sworn to uphold.

I asked the question:

Would not any nation which should elect such a "cocktail President" to uphold the Constitution, and to execute the laws pertaining to prohibition, be properly the object of the amazement, the ridicule, indeed the contempt, of the other nations of the world? What justification can be offered for such a course? On what ground should it be seriously contended that a "cocktail President" should be elected for dry America? The only basis for such a contention is that political party loyalty is more important, takes precedence, overwhelms, blots out loyalty to moral, conscientious convictions. To the question, "Should the United States of America elect a wet 'Cocktail President,' " the moral forces must give a positive, emphatic, thundering NO.

X. The Election of 1928

THERE WAS NOTHING in the newspaper reports, or editorial comments, on my Washington address which intimated that there was any consideration on my part of anything but the prohibition issue. Nothing whatever did I say concerning bigotry or religious intolerance.

But on January 6, 1928, the issue of religious bigotry and intolerance was brought before the whole world by an "Encyclical Letter on Fostering True Religious Union, of our Most Holy Lord, Pius the XI, by Divine Providence Pope to his Venerable Brethren, the Patriarchs, Primate, Arch-bishops, and other Local Ordinaries in Peace and Communion with the Apostolic See."

This encyclical letter was understood to be the answer of the Pope to the appeal of the Lausanne Conference for Christian Unity. The Roman Catholic Church was, along with all other Christian communions, *on my own motion* at Geneva in 1920 invited to participate in the Lausanne Conference. It declined to do so, but was understood to have sent to the conference some unofficial observers, with two of whom I had friendly and interesting conversations. There were at the Lausanne Conference representatives of all the great Christian communions, including the Greek Orthodox Church and the Anglican Church. After nearly five months the Pope issued his encyclical letter in which he contrasted his idea of "True Religious Union" with the position of the Lausanne appeal.

It is not possible to quote this entire encyclical letter, but in view of the prominence and importance which were given in the 1928 campaign to the question of bigotry and intolerance it is fundamental to that issue to quote some of the statements made by Pope Pius XI.

They [non-Roman Catholics] go on to say that that Church [Roman Catholic] also has erred and corrupted the original religion by adding and proposing for belief certain doctrines which are not only alien to the gospel, but even repugnant to it. Among the chief of these they number that which concerns the primacy of Jurisdiction which was granted to Peter and his successors in the See of Rome. Among them there are indeed some, though few, who grant that the Roman pontiff has a Primacy of honor, or even

a certain jurisdiction or power, but this, however, they consider not to arise from the Divine Law, but from the consent of the faithful. Others again even go so far as to wish the Pontiff himself to preside over their motley, so to say, assemblies of varied hue. But all the same, although many non-Catholics, may be found who loudly preach eternal communion in Christ Jesus, yet you will find none at all to whom it ever occurs to submit to and obey the Vicar of Jesus Christ, even in His capacity as a teacher or as a Governor. In the meanwhile they affirm that they would willingly treat with the Church of Rome, but on equal terms, that is as equals with an equal; even if they could so act it does not seem open to doubt that any pact into which they might enter would not compel them to turn from those opinions which are still the reason why they err and stray from the one fold of Christ.

This being so, it is clear that the Apostolic See cannot on any terms take part in their assemblies, nor is it in any way lawful for Catholics either to support or to work for such enterprises, for if they do so, they will be giving countenance to a false Christianity quite alien to the one Church of Christ. Shall we suffer what would indeed be iniquitous, the truth, and a truth Divinely revealed, to be made a subject for compromise? . . .

Everyone knows that John himself, the Apostle of Love, altogether forbade any intercourse with those who professed a mutilated and corrupt version of Christ's teachings, saying, "If any man come to you and bring not this doctrine, receive him not into the House nor say to him: God speed you."

For this reason it is that all who are truly Christ's believe, for example, the Conception of the Mother of God without stain of original sin with the same faith as they believe the mystery of the August Trinity and the Incarnation of our Lord, just as they do the infallible teaching authority of the Roman Pontiff.

So, venerable brethren, it is clear why this Apostolic See has never allowed its subjects to take part in the assemblies of non-Catholics; for the Union of Christians can only be furthered by promoting the return to the one true Church of Christ of those who are separated from it. For since the mystical body of Christ in the same manner as His physical body is one, compacted and fitly joined together, it were foolish and out of place to say that the mystical body is made up of members which are disunited and scattered abroad: whosoever, therefore, is not united with the body is no member of it, neither is he in Communion with Christ, its head. Furthermore, in this one Church of Christ no man can be, or remain, who does not accept, recognize and obey the authority and supremacy of Peter and his legitimate successors. Let them, therefore, return to their common Father, who forgetting the insults previously heaped on the Apostolic See, will receive them in the most loving fashion. For if, as they continually state, they long to be united with us and ours, why do they not hasten to enter the Church "the Mother and Mistress of all Christ's faithful?" Let them hear

Lactantius crying out, "The Catholic Church is alone in keeping the true worship. This is the fount of truth, this is the House of Faith, this the Temple of God: if any man enter not here, or if any man go forth from it, he is a stranger to the hope of life and salvation. Let none delude himself with obstinate wrangling, for life and salvation are here concerned which will be lost and entirely destroyed, unless their interests are carefully and assiduously kept in mind."

Let, therefore, the separated children draw nigh to the Apostolic See, set up in the City which Peter and Paul, the Princes of the Apostle, consecrated by their blood; to that See we repeat which is "the root and womb from which the Church of Christ springs," not with the intention and the hope that the Church of the Living God, the pillar and ground of the Truth, will cast aside the integrity of the faith and tolerate their errors, but on the contrary that they themselves submit to its teaching and government. . . .

In this most important undertaking we ask and wish that others should ask the prayers of Blessed Mary the Virgin, Mother of Divine Grace, victorious over all heresies, and Help of Christians, that she may implore for us the speedy coming of the much hoped for day when all men shall hear the Voice of her Divine Son, and shall be careful to keep the Unity of the Spirit and the bond of peace.

In considering this infallible (?) pontifical encyclical, it is to be remembered that the Lausanne Conference was the largest, most representative conference of non-Roman Catholics which had ever been held in the history of the Church. The outstanding leaders from the Greek, Anglican, Lutheran, Methodist, Baptist, Presbyterian, Congregational, and other Protestant churches were gathered at Lausanne. There was no bigotry or intolerance manifested in its proceedings, or in any of its deliverances. There was no attack whatever made upon the Roman Catholic Church. There was an appeal for Christian unity on the part of all the followers of the Lord Jesus Christ.

But the encyclical is not only arrogant in its tone, its language, and its claims, but derogatory, even denunciatory, of all those who will not agree "to submit to and obey the Vicar of Jesus Christ" (the Pope), and denounces Protestantism as a "false Christianity, quite alien to the one Church of Christ," so that the "Apostolic See cannot on any terms take part in their [Protestant] assemblies." The encyclical declares that Protestants profess "a mutilated and corrupt version of Christ's teachings," and quotes against Protestants St. John's command, "Receive him not into the House, nor say to him: God speed."

The encyclical emphasizes as the reason why Roman Catholics cannot take part in assemblies of non-Catholics that Protestants are not "in

communion with Christ," and that "no man can be, or remain, in the one Church of Christ who does not accept, recognize, and obey the authority and supremacy of Peter and his legitimate successors" (the Pope). And the encyclical, after thus denying membership in the Church of Christ to all except those who are subservient to the Pope, goes to the extreme limit of bigotry and intolerance in declaring that "the [Roman] Catholic Church is alone in keeping the true worship, this is the fount of Truth, this is the house of Faith, this is the Temple of God: if any man enter not here, or if any man go forth from it, he is a stranger to the hope of life and salvation." It seems almost blasphemous to the average man that any human being, even the "most Holy Pope" should in such sweeping language declare that all men "are strangers to the hope of life and salvation," unless they have entered in the membership of the Roman Catholic Church.

After thus declaring, in most intolerant fashion, that all non-Roman Catholics "are strangers to the hope of life and salvation," the encyclical in most arrogant, patronizing language calls upon non-Roman Catholics to submit to its (Roman Catholic) teachings and government.

And, as if purposely done, the encyclical closes by emphasizing an attitude or doctrine specially repugnant to Protestants, namely, the great importance of the intercessory prayers of "Blessed Mary the Virgin, Mother of Divine Grace."

Nothing could be more intolerant or bigoted, deprecatory, even contemptuous, of Protestants and their beliefs, and more insistent upon complete obedience to the Roman Pontiff by all Roman Catholics (such obedience being absolutely necessary for Church membership) than this encyclical delivered on January 6, 1928, and published in full in leading daily papers, in *Current History*, and distributed in pamphlet form.¹

It is quite remarkable that very shortly after this bigoted, intolerant encyclical was printed in full, the first intimation appeared from the Smith supporters that the religious question would be made an issue in the campaign. Certainly, I never made the religious question an issue of the campaign until after Raskob and Smith had deliberately, openly injected it as an important and, as Smith said later, a paramount issue.

1. "Encyclical Letter on Fostering True Religious Union, of our most Holy Lord, Pius the XI. . . ." (Jan. 6, 1928). Text quoted in *Current History*, XXVII (March, 1928), 796-800. The text of the encyclical concludes a series of essays which continued the Smith-Marshall exchange of articles earlier published in the *Atlantic Monthly*. According to Cannon, the text he quoted was printed by "Burns, Oates and Washbourne, Ltd., of London, Publishers to the Holy Sec." This is obviously a different translation from the one printed in *Current History*.

After a conference with the Honorable Daniel C. Roper,² a close friend of Honorable W. G. McAdoo, I arranged to call a Law Enforcement Conference in Richmond, Virginia, and to invite Mr. McAdoo to make one of the night addresses on February 1. Mr. McAdoo accepted the invitation and a great mass meeting was held under the auspices of the Anti-Saloon League of Virginia and the W.C.T.U. of Virginia. I made the opening address on "Virginia's Prohibition History," and without committing myself to a prediction, I declared that the nomination of a wet by the Democrats would be a calamity, and would call for new Southern political leaders, representative of the moral forces of the South. . . .

Mr. McAdoo delivered a very able address on law enforcement in its broad phases, and referring especially to the approaching political campaign said:

The supreme need is to put law enforcement in the White House. Attempt is being made to convince the country that no matter if a wet is elected President the Constitution and laws will be enforced. This is both unsound and untrue. . . . The White House in the hands of the liquor interests would be a veritable Gibraltar of offensive operations, and the doom of the Eighteenth Amendment would be written boldly upon the face of the Constitution.

The speeches made by Mr. McAdoo and myself indicated close agreement as to the main facts involved in the approaching presidential campaign in reference to law enforcement and prohibition. In our conference together we both recognized that the outstanding menace was the carefully wrought-out plan for the nomination of Governor Smith for the Presidency, and in our discussion we agreed that it is impossible to beat somebody with nobody, and that no outstanding dry Democrat had been proposed for the nomination.

We went very carefully over the whole field and were in full agreement that the ablest, best qualified dry man in the Democratic party was Senator Thomas J. Walsh.³ He was not only one of the ablest men in the Democratic party, but he was recognized as thoroughly in-

2. Daniel C. Roper (1867-1943), member of the South Carolina House of Representatives (1892-1894), held numerous government positions such as clerk of the Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce (1894-1897) and member of the U. S. Census Bureau (1900-1910). He later became Secretary of Commerce (1933-1938).

3. Thomas J. Walsh (1859-1933), after teaching in the public schools, studied law at the University of Wisconsin and received the LL.B. He practiced for a time, but was elected to the Senate from the state of Montana in the year 1912 and served there until his death. The investigation of the leasing of Naval Oil reserves during the twenties is frequently considered his "most valuable public service." He was a consistent prohibitionist, but he was willing to have the question of repeal submitted to the states.

corruptible and a sincere dry, and an outspoken but not fanatical or priest-ridden Roman Catholic. It was clearly recognized in our conference that notwithstanding the bigotry and intolerance of the Roman Catholic Church, which had just been so amazingly emphasized by the papal encyclical, it would be part of the plan of the Smith campaign to accuse his opponents of bigotry and intolerance. The Walsh candidacy would eliminate that factor.

Mr. McAdoo came out openly as an advocate of the nomination of Senator Walsh. In my addresses in Danville, twice in Washington, in St. Petersburg, Florida, in Richmond and elsewhere, I did not think it wise to go so far as to indicate a choice between Democrats, but I confined myself in my public addresses to open, positive declarations against Governor Smith, Governor Ritchie, Senator Reed, President Butler, or any similar wet candidate. I did state openly, however, without hesitation, to newspaper reporters that I would gladly support Senator Walsh for President as a clean, high-class, dry Democrat, regardless of the fact that he was a Roman Catholic.

The *Times-Dispatch* of Richmond, in an editorial on March 4, 1928, brought out into the open that which was clearly beneath the surface. It said:

Militant drys of the country have said repeatedly that they had no objections to Governor Smith because of his religion, but were unalterably opposed to him by reason of his wetness. Cynical persons were not disposed to take this statement at its face value. Rather they smiled knowingly, and spoke of intolerance as one of the disgraceful phases of American political life. Many of them will not be completely satisfied with the new turn in events. Senator Thomas J. Walsh, himself an ardent Catholic, has been injected into the presidential race. One of his sponsors is no other than William G. McAdoo, former Secretary of the Treasury, and the bitter-end opponent of Governor Smith in the Democratic Convention of 1924. Mr. McAdoo is a non-Catholic and a fighting dry. He sees in the Montana Senator, who likewise is committed to the Eighteenth Amendment and the Volstead Act, and who is a blazing foe of governmental corruption wherever and whenever it appears, the makings of a great standard-bearer, who would brighten immeasurably the faint prospect of Democratic accession to the White House.

It is significant that the Walsh candidacy was projected at the time of the Southeastern States Prohibition Convention in Florida, where Bishop James Cannon, Jr., one of the wisest and most far-seeing of the dry leaders, was asking the voters of the nation to prevent the election this year of a wet cocktail president. He mentioned specifically Governor Smith, Governor Ritchie and Senator Reed as unavailable by reason of their liquor views

for the office of Chief Magistrate. He did not attempt to nominate a man who would measure up to the prohibition requirements. . . . Two birds have been killed with one stone. The wicked political views of Smith, Ritchie and Reed were exposed by the Bishop, and at the same time the availability of Walsh as the white hope of democracy was placed before the voters for their careful consideration. In addition to that the religious issue apparently was brushed aside—intolerance was wiped out at one wave of the hand, for Senator Walsh was an orthodox Catholic, just as devout, if not more devout, than Governor Smith.

It was a pretty political move, but will it work constructively? . . . As yet the Walsh candidacy cannot be taken seriously, Governor Smith is far . . . in the lead of them all. It appears that efforts in behalf of the Montanan, whether or not such efforts are directed toward that end, will result only in a deadlock in the Convention. It is suspected that an attempt is being made to block Smith.

This editorial was perhaps as fair and discerning as any that were written concerning the effort made to secure support for Senator Walsh. It certainly was not in my mind, nor I think in the mind of Mr. McAdoo, to use Senator Walsh to block Governor Smith. That would have been purely negative. Our purpose was positive—to secure the nomination of a genuinely dry Democrat, who could go before the country without the wet Tammany handicaps, which Governor Smith must inevitably carry, and which as a matter of fact did defeat him in the end.

I had become convinced from the reaction of the Law Enforcement Convention in Richmond that not only in Virginia, but throughout the country, the political leadership of the Democratic party was about ready to surrender to the arguments of the Smith propagandists that no other Democratic candidate could possibly secure the support of sufficient states in the North and East, which with the solid South would give a majority in the Electoral College. It was baldly, almost insultingly, assumed that there was no possible doubt that the South would vote for any man nominated by the Democratic national convention, regardless of his past or present political affiliations, or his views on the Eighteenth Amendment.

Looking forward I was obliged to forecast as best I could not only the probable action of the Democratic convention, but the part which I must personally play in the campaign following the convention. I had gone to the very limit of urgent warning and appeal to the Democratic party leaders against the nomination of Governor Smith, or any other wet candidate. I had endeavored to convince especially the Southern political leaders that the Southern people would not vote for a wet

candidate, but would vote for a dry Republican in preference. I had even gone so far as practically to rebuke Dr. Wayne Wheeler, and, along with Dr. Barton, publicly to deny Wheeler's right to intimate that dry Southern Democrats would be so narrow and sectional that they would not be willing to vote for a dry Republican in order to save the Eighteenth Amendment.

There were evidences to me on every hand that our Southern dry political leaders were preparing to smooth the way for the nomination of Governor Smith, and to try to carry the Southern people along with them. The argument was already beginning to be used that Governor Smith, if elected, could not in any way affect the stability or permanence of the Eighteenth Amendment, which would be maintained by a dry Congress, regardless of his personal attitude. In the face of the recent bigoted, intolerant attack upon Protestants by the Pope, the charge was already beginning to be made that Protestants were too bigoted and intolerant to vote for a Roman Catholic.

Being convinced that the signs all pointed to such a situation, I gave thorough consideration as to my own duty, and as to the possibility of so planning and working as to prevent Governor Smith's election, even should he be nominated. I had faced a somewhat similar situation before. There had been times when in the warfare for state and national prohibition I had been compelled to decide between possible repudiation by timid ultraconservative elements in my Church, and the open, positive wholehearted devotion of time, resources, reputation, and standing for the extermination of the legalized beverage-liquor traffic. For forty years there had been no question as to my attitude, and I had not hesitated to pay the price for victory; though there were many scars from the conflict, some broken friendships, and a heavy strain upon purse and bodily vigor, I did not regret the cost of the results obtained.

But the situation in 1928 was not exactly the same. The warfare of the past involved sharp differences with prominent Democratic leaders, and the advocacy of the election of dry Democrats in the party primaries. My forecast of the new situation involved the decision of what action should be taken should the Democratic party actually nominate a man for President who had not only declared his personal and political opposition to the Eighteenth Amendment, but who had put forth seemingly every possible effort to nullify and defeat it, and whose campaign for the nomination was based upon the claim that his opposition to prohibition and his determination to change the law would secure him the wet vote of certain Northern and Eastern states, which, added to the solid South, would insure his election.

I was fully satisfied from Governor Smith's past legislative and executive record, as well as the type of man he had shown himself to be in his personal and public life, that if he did secure the nomination he would not hesitate to take such an open stand against prohibition as would bring to his standard the wet voters whom he knew would be necessary to insure his election. It is a fact, therefore, that I did not think that any unexpected contingency would arise which would make it possible for me to vote for Governor Smith, should he be given the Democratic nomination, and this altogether apart from his religion, although I knew that he was of the intolerant, bigoted type, characteristic of the Irish Roman Catholic hierarchy of New York City.

I called into conference my close friend, the Reverend J. Sidney Peters, whose energy, wisdom, and loyalty had been fully demonstrated in the warfare of the past twenty years. We discussed very thoroughly all the possibilities which might arise. We outlined the program and the methods which were in fact carried out in the campaign which followed. We faced the crucial fact that whatever plan was adopted would call for a good amount of cash available at the very beginning of the campaign before we could secure sufficient contributions from supporters of our movement to meet the necessary expenses.

It so happened that the directors of the Newspaper Supply Company, which had been formed to float a bond issue in support of the Richmond *Virginian*, had selected me as the custodian of a fund amounting to approximately \$18,000, without requiring any form of security. Pending the final distribution of this fund, I had loaned it to reliable friends with the understanding that it would be available on thirty days' notice. No restriction whatever had been placed upon me as to the use of this fund, and I added a codicil to my will that, in the event of my death, the proceeds of my life insurance policies, and whatever other amount might be necessary to restore this fund, should be paid from my estate. As there was no probability of the distribution of the fund before another twelve months, I felt certain that I could care for whatever expenses would be incurred during the first few weeks of the campaign from this fund, and [would] be able to replace the amount so borrowed by contributions made during the progress of the campaign for distinctly campaign expenses.

Mr. Peters, who was one of the directors of the Newspaper Supply Company, and who had voted to place the fund in my hands, fully agreed with me that there was no reason why I should not use the fund for that purpose, as it had been placed in my hands without re-

striction, and as I had made myself personally responsible for its repayment.

It so happened that the house which had been purchased for me on the corner of A and First streets, N. E., in Washington, was taken by the United States government by condemnation proceedings for the new Supreme Court Building. This placed in my hands an additional sum to use as I saw fit. Moreover, I knew that my credit was good at the banks with which I had been doing business for many years, and that I could arrange, if it became necessary, to borrow a considerable total amount.

Of course, I should have been glad, had it been possible for us to convince Southern Democratic leaders that the nomination of Governor Smith would be a capital blunder, which would be so deeply resented by the dry moral element of Southern voters that it would be impossible to hold them in line for Governor Smith. But there were evident signs of wavering of the opposition to Smith, even in Virginia, and the toms of party loyalty, even in the face of that dire calamity, convinced me unwillingly of what I must expect.

On February 28, 1928, one of the greatest banquets ever held under the auspices of the Anti-Saloon League and the W.C.T.U. was held in the Mayflower Hotel at Washington, with Bishop William F. McDowell presiding. . . .

An appeal was made for subscriptions and approximately \$600,000 was subscribed. . . . Two dry Roman Catholics were on the program, and no reference was made by them to the religious question.⁴ Dr. Ashby Jones, of the Baptist Church, in his speech said that he would not hesitate to vote for a Roman Catholic, but he would exercise his right to select the man. I had prepared the closing address, to be followed by the readings of the resolutions, but, as is usually the case when there are many speakers, each one adds a few minutes to the time allotted, and the program was already an hour behind when my turn came, so that I, rather regretfully I confess, eliminated the greater part of my speech, which was a retrospect of conditions before prohibition and since 1920, closing as follows:

And now with these authentic memories of the past, with these facts of the present, what for the future? From an experience of over thirty years of continual conflict with this common enemy of the human race, I give it as my carefully considered judgment that at no time during the past fifteen years have the liquor forces been more unpatriotic, more thoroughly

4. One of these was William De Lacy, former judge of the Juvenile Court of the District of Columbia (*New York Times*, Feb. 29, 1928).

disloyal and lawless, more unscrupulous and shameless, more defiant, assertive, and aggressive than they are today.

We are met here tonight not as Republicans or as Democrats. We are here as the representatives of a part of the moral, religious forces of this great nation. We have labored earnestly and fought persistently for these long years to secure one of the greatest social enactments ever approved by the people of any country, of any age. With the admittedly imperfect enforcement up to the present times, exceedingly valuable and helpful results have been secured. We face today a serious situation. The enemies of prohibition have come out into the open and are forcing the fighting. To be specific, the future effectiveness of national prohibition, whether we like it or not, will be tremendously affected by the results of the approaching presidential campaign.

The prohibition question has never been nor can we agree that it shall become simply a matter of partisan politics. It is a great moral issue and, therefore, far transcends any questions of tariff, finances, foreign policy, etc. It is a question which touches the everyday life of our people, our schools, our business, our homes, our children, our churches. We must absolutely refuse to surrender our convictions on this great moral question to aid in securing a purely political party triumph in the selection of a President, Republican or Democrat, whose election would be a menace to the success and permanence of our beneficent, salutary prohibition law. We must in all sincerity and good conscience declare that we cannot, that we will not support any man for the Presidency who may be nominated on a platform including a prohibition enforcement plank inserted to secure dry votes but who, owing to his wet or doubtful record, it is hoped can also secure the votes of wet sections of the country, which sections would favor him solely because of his nonenforcement record, or his advocacy of State determination of the alcoholic content of intoxicants, or because of his critical hostile attitude toward prohibition workers and the prohibition law.

Personally, I do not believe that the dry voters of the nation in either party will be willing to surrender their moral convictions in order to secure a purely political party triumph. I do not believe our people will commit moral suicide for victory of any political party or for the spoils of office. We call upon all dry delegates to both nominating conventions not only to use their influence to defeat the nomination of men who are opposed to the prohibition law, but that they use their influence to secure the nomination of men whose record will insure their active support of the enforcement of the prohibition law. We must positively declare that we will hold our political leaders of both parties responsible for the proper representation in the nominating conventions of the views of the moral religious forces of our nation.

The determination of this great issue is, I believe, with the dry citizens of our country, men and women. If they declare unitedly, persistently, and positively and openly that they will not vote for "wet candidates" they can

secure the nomination of candidates by both parties who by their utterances, acts, and records are thoroughly committed to the effective enforcement of the eighteenth amendment and the statutory legislation pertaining thereto. This is a time when Christian citizens must render to Caesar the things which are Caesar's, as well as to God the things which are God's.

If our great effort to promote the general welfare by the self-denial of the individual should ever fail, it will be because Christian citizens do not respond to the appeal of the great apostle: "We then that are strong ought to bear the infirmities of the weak and not to please ourselves, for even Christ pleased not Himself."

[The resolutions adopted at this banquet] . . . were a declaration to the nation, with the capital city as a sounding board, of the positive, unswerving determination of the dry leadership of the country to compel both great political parties to recognize that it would be well-nigh impossible to elect anyone President of the United States unless he pledged himself to the vigorous enforcement of the Prohibition Law. There was general agreement among the dry leaders that the crisis had been reached, and that the future success of the Eighteenth Amendment hinged upon the approaching presidential election.

Five days later the Southeastern Conference of the Anti-Saloon League was held at St. Petersburg, Florida, where, before an audience of over two thousand, I delivered the full address prepared for the Washington banquet. The group of people which assemble annually at St. Petersburg is rather unusual, and cannot be duplicated anywhere else in the United States. Leading people are there from every state east of the Mississippi, and from the near trans-Mississippi states. They are a fine cross section of moral, law-abiding citizens. They thundered approval of the Washington resolutions when they were read before them for adoption. . . .⁵

In April, 1928, Senator F. M. Simmons of North Carolina,⁶ one of the recognized outstanding Democratic leaders of the country, issued a statement expressive of his attitude toward the nomination of Governor Smith.

My convictions upon the subjects are so profound that I know of no circumstances which could change my attitude toward the candidacy of Mr. Smith. Early in this campaign I made a public statement in which I de-

5. At this point Cannon quoted at considerable length from an article entitled "Some Have Stopped Drinking," by Commander Evangeline Booth of the Salvation Army, printed in the *Saturday Evening Post*, Jan. 28, 1928.

6. Furnifold McLendel Simmons (1854-1940) was a member of Congress (1887-1889), chairman of the Democratic Executive Committee of North Carolina six times between 1892 and 1906, and U. S. Senator (1901-1931). He opposed Smith in the election of 1928, and was then defeated in the Democratic primary.

clared my opposition to Mr. Smith and stated I was opposed to him because I believe his nomination would be unfortunate for the party and the country at large, and especially dangerous to Democratic harmony and supremacy in the South. I have not changed my views. I am as much opposed to Mr. Smith as I have ever been; indeed, later developments have strengthened my conviction that his nomination would be disastrous to the Democratic party. The intimation that I thought that the nomination of Mr. Smith to be certain is also utterly erroneous. On the contrary, I do not believe that Mr. Smith will be nominated, or that he could or would be elected if nominated.

This declaration by such a Democratic leader produced a profound impression, and was commented upon by the press, and was inserted by Senator Overman of North Carolina in the *Congressional Record*. Replying publicly to Senator Simmons, ex-Senator Robert L. Owen, of Oklahoma, thoroughly approved and amplified his reasons for opposing Governor Smith.

In his letter to Senator Simmons, Senator Owen said, among other things:

For eighteen years side by side I fought with you in the Senate of the United States for the welfare of the country and the honor of the Democracy. I know your courage, your knowledge, your wisdom, your attachment to Democracy, and it is painful to me to see you assailed because you have warned Democracy against the nomination of Governor Smith I trust my Democracy will not be questioned when I join you and defend your position in opposing the nomination of Governor Smith, and defend you against the assaults of those who now support the candidate of Tammany. . . .

I cannot possibly forget that it was Tammany who fought Samuel J. Tilden, a great, brave and honest Democrat. . . . It should be remembered that the Tammany Tiger fought that great Democrat, Grover Cleveland, tooth and nail. . . . Three times Bryan was opposed by Tammany men. . . . When the great Democrat Woodrow Wilson was a candidate, Tammany Hall fought him, and the leaders of Tammany were hostile to Wilson during his administration.

Has Tammany really reformed in its organized machine-ruled methods of commercialized politics? Have they really discontinued their practices which have enriched such men as Tweed, Croker, and Murphy? Is it possible that the disciples of Thomas Jefferson, of Tilden, and Cleveland and Bryan and Wilson will follow the leadership of Tammany and put Tammany in the White House? . . . It seems obvious that since 1920 a determined group have been steadily advancing the nomination of Governor Smith, writing books and magazine articles, filling the press with propaganda. . . . But this is not enough to overcome in America the profound opposition to Tammany and its methods of organized, commercialized politics. It is not

enough to satisfy the country who recognizes in Tammany the most highly organized political foe of the national policy of prohibition. It is not enough to satisfy the country with the nullification of the Eighteenth Amendment by Tammany under the leadership of Governor Alfred E. Smith, who having sworn to support the Constitution permits the wholesale, flagrant violation of this law, and thousands of speak-easies available to every American who visits New York, and who with his own eyes can see this national scandal. . . . Governor Smith is a sachem of Tammany Hall, the most powerful in the governing group of thirteen sachems. He has been in the service of Tammany since his youth, which has developed him, advanced him, and now is trying to make the country believe that he is qualified to lead the unselfish sons of the Jeffersonian Democracy. . . . If Tammany by intrigue succeeds in seizing the leadership of the Democratic party it is my opinion that there will emerge from the wreck a Jeffersonian party.

This letter of Senator Owen to Senator Simmons states accurately the well-known and all-sufficient reasons for opposition by dry Southern Democrats to the nomination of Governor Smith. There is no word in the utterances of either Senator Simmons or Senator Owen which justifies the charge that their opposition is based on bigotry and intolerance because of Governor Smith's Roman Catholicism. They give ample and sufficient reasons for his rejection as the Democratic nominee.

As if deliberately to counteract the effect of the position of Senator Simmons in North Carolina and elsewhere, the Honorable Josephus Daniels, whose advocacy of prohibition has been sincere and very effective, gave on May 4 a statement to the press as follows:

The biggest issue in America today is to wrest the Government from the hands of privilege and corruption. The only hope to that end is in a victory for the Democratic party. I, therefore, expect to support the nominee of the Houston Convention. I expect that convention to declare without equivocation for the sacred enforcement of prohibition and all other laws, and do not believe any man that they nominate can be as indifferent and inefficient in enforcement as Mellon has been under the Harding and Coolidge administrations.

My relations with ex-Secretary Daniels had been quite pleasant and friendly, and I had no inclination to disagree with him in his estimate of the indifferent and inefficient prohibition enforcement. This inefficient enforcement had been the almost fatal blow to the prohibition cause, and if not remedied I fully believed would result in the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment.

Therefore, the position of Secretary Daniels, as indicated in his public declaration, indicated that he would not only be willing to have

such inefficient enforcement continued, but that he apparently utterly disagreed with Mr. McAdoo when he stated in his Richmond address that "the White House in the hands of the liquor interests would be a veritable Gibraltar of offensive operations." I considered Secretary Daniel's letter to be of such significance that I wrote him an open letter which I gave to the press. In that letter I said among other things "that the 'Privilege and Corruption' which have tainted the dominant party could not become the biggest issue of the campaign, should the framing of such an indictment be followed by the nomination of Governor Smith for President, and *that* for two reasons especially:

First, because the nomination of Governor Smith is urged, indeed demanded, on the ground that he is the only Democrat who at this time can possibly be elected President. And why is it declared that he can be elected? Because his personal attitude toward the use of intoxicants and his official practical nullification of the enforcement of the prohibition law in the state of New York have made him the idol of the opponents of prohibition, so that it is openly asserted by "wet" journals, like the New York *World* that he would receive sufficient votes of "wet" Republicans to secure the electoral votes of enough Eastern and Northern states, which, added to the dry Democratic South, would give him the required majority. It is coolly and insultingly asserted that dry Southern Democrats will flock to the polls like sheep at the behest of party leaders, and for the sake of partisan political triumph surrender their convictions and vote for the outstanding opponent of prohibition. How could the Democratic party make "Privilege and Corruption" the great issue in a campaign in which the dry voters of the party would be called upon to sell their very souls, and to assist actively to put in the White House the most dangerous opponent of prohibition in public life today? No matter what prohibition law enforcement plank is put in the Houston platform, the nomination of Gov. Smith would brand the Democratic party as "wet," and would make prohibition the outstanding issue in the campaign. It is unthinkable, aye, it is impossible, that the moral, religious leadership of the South should be a party to such an open, contemptible betrayal of a great social, economic and moral reform which has been secured after years of unselfish, untiring labor. And for what purpose? Simply to put a man in the Executive Mansion because he is called a Democrat, regardless of the fact that he has no sympathy with the ideals of Southern Democracy.

Second, how ridiculous, how absurd, indeed how tragic it would be for the great Democratic party in convention assembled to adopt a platform declaring that the biggest issue in America today is to wrest the government from the hands of "Privilege and Corruption," and then, passing by all the leaders of the Wilsonian Democracy, select as the leader of that crusade, Alfred E. Smith, knight, holding aloft the banner of St. Tammany embla-

zoned with the picture of the crouching tiger, leading for the first time in its history the party of Jefferson, Jackson, Tilden, Cleveland and Wilson.

Have the Democratic political leaders become so crazed by the lust for office as to be willing to select as its standard bearer a man, Tammany-bred, Tammany-trained, Tammany-branded, a pupil and protégé of Foley and Murphy, a quite recently installed sachem and today the outstanding personality and most influential factor of Tammany Hall? . . . Was Tammany simply a patriotic society when it fought Samuel J. Tilden? Was it a patriotic society when it tried to knife Grover Cleveland? Was it simply a patriotic society when it did three times knife William Jennings Bryan? Was it simply a patriotic society when Bryan in 1912 openly branded it as a band of traitors to the Democratic party and secured the nomination of Wilson on the basis of Tammany's opposition thereto? Has the day arrived that the Democracy of Wilson, Cleveland and Tilden, all elected President in spite of the treacherous opposition of Tammany, shall now turn to Tammany to lead a crusade against privilege and corruption? Now, when the metropolitan dailies are reeking with the details of graft and corruption in various departments of the New York City government, all of which is absolutely dominated by that "patriotic society," Tammany Hall, with all its attendant sachems and braves. . . .

We appeal to our Southern leaders in the Houston Convention to stand firmly to the end for the principles of the Democracy of Tilden, Cleveland and Wilson against the leadership of the unstable, treacherous, grafting, so called Democracy of Tammany Hall.

. . . Desiring to secure the strongest possible official statement from representative church bodies, on May 9, 1928, at the annual meeting of the Board of Missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, which administers both Home and Foreign Missions, with over seventy members, the most representative body of the Church, except the General Conference, I presented to the board a statement accompanied by resolutions to which, along with my own were attached the signatures of Bishop Boaz, DuBose, Moore and Mouzon, and which received the hearty, unanimous support of the board with only one dissenting vote. Among other things the statement emphasized its agreement with the declaration which I had written for the episcopal address in 1926, and emphasized the position of the Board of Missions in view of the existing situation.

Following the meeting of the Board of Missions I went to Kansas City to attend the session of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, where I had been invited to speak at the anniversary of the Board of Temperance, Prohibition and Public Morals of that Church before the General Conference. I was very graciously introduced to the General Conference:

In the midst of this busy hour we want to present to you just one person at this moment. We are very pleased to present to you one of the great exponents of Methodist Unification in the person of Bishop James Cannon, Jr., of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, himself a world traveler, and widely known as a reformer.

In this address to a great audience in Convention Hall, Kansas City, on May 14, 1928, I made a very plain statement concerning the attitude of the leaders of the Roman Catholic Church concerning prohibition.

In the time allotted to me may I say at this critical hour, when there are many jangling voices and unusual efforts by politicians to becloud the issue, it is vital that all true friends of prohibition should think clearly and speak to each other with entire frankness for the good of the common cause. In this spirit I shall mention four factors in the prohibition contest.

First. The first fact of which I will speak briefly but plainly—and I believe without prejudice or sectarian bias—is that there was published in the secular press on January 2, 1928, a quotation which has not been denied from the *Osservatore Romano*, the official organ of the Vatican, an editorial stating that “the attempt to enforce prohibition in America has become so useless, not to say dangerous, that it would be better to abolish it, especially since unbridled passion is always more rampant as soon as there is an attempt to enforce complete abstinence.”

This attack upon the National Prohibition Law of the United States by the Vatican organ is in full agreement with the drastic, open criticisms of the law by the cardinal archbishops of Boston and New York and other Roman Catholic dignitaries.

While I rejoice to know personally Roman Catholic priests and laymen who are genuine, earnest advocates of prohibition, yet we must in this conflict fairly face the indisputable fact that the highest officials of the Roman Church who have spoken have placed themselves on record as opposed to the prohibition law.

I concede the right of the Pope, of cardinals, of archbishops, and other Roman Catholics to declare their attitude as freely and as fully as Methodist General or Annual Conferences, bishops, ministers, or laymen upon this, the greatest economic, social, and moral question ever before the United States, indeed, before the world. Nor would I even intimate that these Roman Catholic leaders are not entirely sincere in their opposition to the Prohibition Law. But it is of great importance that we clearly recognize that these outstanding leaders of Romanism are directly opposed to the attitude, not only of Methodism, but to the overwhelming majority of Protestant leadership in the United States on this question of prohibition, and that these Roman Catholic leaders do favor the abolition of what we hold firmly to be a salutary, beneficent law.

It is not surprising, therefore, indeed it is to be expected that this position of high dignitaries of the Roman Catholic Church will be reflected in

the attitude of many loyal sons of Romanism who are members of legislatures, members of Congress (it is a fact that the attacks upon the prohibition law come principally from men who are Roman Catholics or who represent Roman Catholic centers like Boston, Baltimore, New Orleans, and New York, including Eastern New Jersey), and who hold other official positions high and low, and certainly it is only to be expected that this same opposition to prohibition will continue to be reflected by many loyal sons of Romanism who might be elected to public office this year or later on. Certainly Governor Alfred E. Smith, who is prominently spoken of for President, is likely to be tremendously influenced by the views of the Pope and the Romish cardinals on the subject of prohibition, for when he gave an official reception to Cardinal Hayes and visiting cardinals he knelt and, as Governor of New York, kissed the rings of the cardinals, thus emphasizing the idea of the subordination of the state to the Romish Church.

This fact of the attitude of these Roman Catholic leaders is emphasized by me tonight that we may clearly recognize and properly estimate the strength of all the forces opposed to the Prohibition Law, so that we may not be surprised or discouraged, but that we may press steadily, unwaveringly, unitedly the conflict for the complete abolition of the beverage-liquor traffic as Methodism has done from her earliest history.

SHALL AMERICA ELECT A WET, COCKTAIL PRESIDENT?

I am frank to admit that a man's attitude toward the Prohibition Amendment, [and his attitude] toward the personal use of intoxicants, are not the only important questions to be asked concerning the fitness for the office of President of the United States. But I positively insist that the prohibition question cannot be considered apart from the broader question of loyalty, not only to the letter but to the spirit of the Constitution, as long as the prohibition amendment is a part of that Constitution.

How can those under the law be expected to respect the law if they know that those who are charged by a solemn oath of office with its administration by their own personal actions show disrespect for that law?

It is true that the Prohibition Amendment does not prohibit the use of intoxicating liquors for beverage purposes, but it is the natural, logical, necessary consequence of the Prohibition Law that within a comparatively short time the legal use of intoxicants will be absolutely eliminated, for as the manufacture is forbidden and the importation is forbidden there cannot be any lawful increase in the amount of intoxicants which are legally in the possession of various and sundry persons throughout the country. It is generally believed that there are comparatively few persons who laid in such large supplies of intoxicants before the Prohibition Law became effective as to enable them to gratify their own appetites and the appetites of their friends for many years. There doubtless are some law-abiding citizens today who will use no intoxicants except those which are legally

possessed by themselves or their friends, but that number is so exceedingly small that it is declared by the newspapers that nearly all the social drinking is accompanied by the pertinent query: "Who is your bootlegger?"

Can any law-abiding citizen of America today want any man to be elected as President who not only does not believe in the principle of prohibition which has been written into the Constitution, but who, although he will be compelled in taking the oath of office as President to swear to uphold the Constitution of the United States, yet will continue to indulge his appetite for strong drink, and in the indulgence of that appetite would of necessity be compelled to transport a stock of intoxicants from his private residence to the White House, or be compelled to indulge his appetite by visiting regularly his friends in Washington who might possibly have stocked their cellars with intoxicants before the Prohibition Amendment became effective, or would be obliged to purchase such intoxicants from persons whom he would know to be violating the Constitution which he as President has solemnly sworn to uphold?

What an interesting public document for future generations to read would be the application of the President of the United States for a permit from the Prohibition Department to move from his residence to the White House the Executive Mansion of the United States Government an itemized list of the number of bottles, casks, barrels, and containers of every kind or description of intoxicating liquors, the manufacture, sale and transportation of which are prohibited by the Constitution of the country said applicant has sworn to uphold!

Would not any nation which should elect such a cocktail President to uphold the Constitution, to uphold the laws pertaining to prohibition, be properly the amazement, the ridicule, indeed the contempt of the other nations of the world? What justification could be offered for such a course? On what ground could it be successfully contended that a cocktail President should be elected for dry America? The only basis for such a contention would be that political party loyalty, the desire for partisan victory, is more important than moral, conscientious conviction. It has been printed in reputable journals and has not been denied that one of the most popular candidates for the Presidency drinks from four to eight cocktails daily. . . .

On May 9 [1928] the Board of Missions of our church, which administers both home and foreign missions with over 70 members, the most representative body of our Church, except the general conference, adopted the following statement, which it was my privilege to present, which was signed also by Bishops DuBose, Moore, Mouzon, and Boaz.

ACTION OF THE BOARD OF MISSIONS OF THE METHODIST
EPISCOPAL CHURCH, [SOUTH]; SMITH ON PROHIBITION

The episcopal address of 1926 declares:

"The industrial, social, educational, moral, and religious forces of the nation which overthrew the legalized liquor traffic, and secured national

prohibition, must unite in the fight with equal vigor and persistence against the outlawed criminal traffic and the would-be nullifiers of the law.

"This Board of Missions, representing the work of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, for the regeneration of the individual and of the entire social order, not only in our country, but on every continent, would emphasize today this utterance of the episcopal address. We are not here today as Republicans or Democrats, or in any way as partisans of any political party. We are here as representatives of a part of the moral and religious forces of our country. From the beginning of its history Methodism has recognized the inherent evil of the traffic in intoxicants, and for nearly half a century our own great Church has been in the forefront of the battle against the liquor traffic, and there has been no more potent force than Methodism in the adoption of those salutary laws which abolished the crossroads and village bar-rooms, the city saloon, the breweries and distilleries, and branded future traffickers in intoxicating liquors as criminals and outlaws, and also destroyed the stranglehold of the liquor traffic upon the town and city councils, state legislatures, and other government officials. It is difficult for our children to realize the strength, the resourcefulness and the desperation of the defenders of the outlawed traffic, or the intensity of the struggle through the succeeding years.

"This, the largest and most representative of our Church boards, faces today a situation which demands that it take action, clear, unmistakable, as Methodism has always taken at every stage of this great conflict, for before its next meeting that will have occurred, which will greatly affect for good or ill the future effectiveness of the Prohibition Law. To be specific, whether we like it or not, the future effectiveness of that law will be tremendously affected by the results of the approaching presidential and congressional campaign. It is a fact patent to every well-informed man that a critical time has been reached in the conflict of the forces of sobriety, temperance, righteousness, and humane betterment with the organized, worldwide, debasing, soul-destroying liquor traffic, and the question of the maintenance of the National Prohibition Law is in our judgment a paramount issue in the presidential and congressional campaign in 1928. Therefore,

"Resolved, [1], That we urge all friends of sobriety, social betterment, and good government actively to oppose the nomination or election to public office of any candidate who is not positively and openly committed to a policy of vigorous, effective enforcement of the prohibition law enforcement plank by his utterances, acts, and record. The strongest prohibition law enforcement plank would be neutralized, indeed would be practically worthless, if its adoption by any convention should be followed by the nomination of that same convention of candidates whose utterances, acts, or records have branded them as personally hostile to prohibition, or as unwilling to co-operate actively to secure effective law enforcement, or as unappreciative of the comparative importance of this unprecedented effort to promote the general welfare of all the people by the restriction of the hurtful

activities of the individual. We believe that the election of such a candidate, with such a record, at this critical stage of prohibition, . . . would be claimed and declared to be a repudiation of the Eighteenth Amendment; it would inevitably be followed by persistent efforts to increase the alcoholic content of beverage liquors and to weaken the enforcement provisions of the Prohibition Law; it would place in the hands of an unsympathetic and hostile President the appointment of the heads of all departments of the federal government, United States district attorneys and marshals, judges of the United States district and circuit courts, and of the United States Supreme Court itself; all ministers, envoys, consuls, and special representatives of our nation to all the countries of the world. In short, it would immeasurably strengthen the advocates of the agelong common enemy, the liquor traffic, and weaken the hands of the friends of temperance throughout the world, and make far more difficult the work of all those who are trying to bring in the kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ.

"Resolved, [II], That we regret the attitude of certain elements of society toward the observance of the Prohibition Law. Their refusal to place the promotion of the general welfare and loyalty to the Constitution and laws of the country above personal desires and appetite has been productive of much law violation and has in some sections of the country taken the form of open defiance and nullification of the Prohibition Law. Notwithstanding their opposition, the salutary effects of the Prohibition Law have been demonstrated; by it labor has been increased, social conditions improved, public health benefited, and general morality promoted. The value of the law has been directly in proportion to the effectiveness of the enforcement of the law. Even at its worst, prohibition has proved immeasurably better than the former legalized liquor traffic, for that legalized traffic was almost universally lawless and besmirched the social and political life of the country. We regret the inefficient enforcement which for several years characterized the Federal prohibition department and are gratified to note the steady improvement under Dr. J. M. Doran. We heartily approve the passing of the bill to promote more efficient enforcement which is now before Congress with the endorsement of the Government enforcement officials and the leading prohibition organizations. We condemn the effort now being made to return the whole matter of law enforcement to the state government. The liquor traffic is a national evil, and its persistent refusal to respect either state or interstate prohibition laws has proven that it can be controlled only by the full co-operation of both national and state governments.

"JAMES CANNON, JR.

"H. M. DuBOSE

"JOHN M. MOORE

"E. D. MOUZON

"H. A. BOAZ."

Mr. Chairman and brethren, our churches may not agree on some minor matters, but in the open warfare against the earthly, the sensual, the devilish,

the world, the flesh, and the devil, please God we shall be found wholeheartedly united both today and tomorrow to the utter confusion and defeat of the advocates of the liquor traffic, the common enemy of mankind. I shall rejoice to have this evidence of unity of purpose printed in your *Daily Christian Advocate*, in which has been printed your action on May 4 on the same vital subject.

The Republican convention followed very shortly after the Methodist General Conference in Convention Hall, Kansas City. I attended the convention along with other dry leaders of both political parties. The nomination of Mr. Herbert Hoover, the Secretary of Commerce, was, in the minds of most persons, a foregone conclusion. The dry leaders asked simply for a law enforcement plank in the platform, opposing successfully the efforts of some extremists to commit the Republican party to the principle of prohibition. The plank adopted was:

The people, through the method provided by the Constitution, have written the Eighteenth Amendment into the Constitution. The Republican party pledges itself and its nominees to the observance and enforcement of this provision of the Constitution.

This plank was bitterly fought by Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler and others of his opinion, and was adopted as a substitute for a cloudy kind of paragraph which the platform makers had originally intended to present to the convention for adoption. But the dry leaders demanded and secured a declaration simple, clear, and positive, the meaning of which could not be mistaken. The pledge given by the convention called for a support of the Prohibition Law and for a kind of enforcement which had never been given either under President Harding or President Coolidge. The leaders of the Republican party clearly recognized that prohibition would be the outstanding issue in the approaching campaign, and, therefore, adopted a platform plank which could receive the full support of the friends of prohibition.

Upon my return to Washington after the Republican convention, I wrote to several Southern Democratic leaders, setting forth as clearly and strongly as I possibly could the condition which had been created, indeed emphasized, by the action of the Republican convention on the question of prohibition. I give [below] extracts from letters to Senator Sheppard of date of June 9, and to Senator Swanson of date of June 16. These extracts are given to indicate how earnestly and persistently I endeavored to warn my personal political friends of the imminent danger of the disruption of the Democratic party in the South, and of the vital necessity that a prohibition plank equally as strong as that adopted by

the Republican convention should be adopted by the Democratic convention, regardless of who might be the nominee. I already had recognized that the necessity would possibly arise to discriminate between the nominee for President and the nominees for senators and congressmen, and such discrimination was dependent upon a satisfactory prohibition plank at the Democratic convention.

In my letter to Senator Sheppard, among other things, I said:

The Tammany crowd are doing their very best to put the soft pedal upon all the objectionable features of Smith's personality and political affiliations. Certainly at least until the Houston Convention is over. . . . The Smith forces have become genuinely alarmed at the continuous, persistent, well-nigh universal declaration on the part of the religious elements of the South that they will not under any circumstances vote for Governor Smith, and so they are endeavoring to prevent as far as possible any emphasis being placed upon his personal wet habits.

My address concerning the cocktail President was delivered in Washington last December. I quoted the statement from Mr. Villard in that address. I sent a copy of the printed address to Governor Smith's office in Albany, and my statements were printed in full in the New York papers. There was no denial whatever of my statement, or the accuracy of my quotation. After your first telegram to me, I went to see Mr. Villard. He told me that his article was written after full consultation with Mrs. Moskovich and her husband, who were Governor Smith's private secretaries. He said that the information as to Smith's drinking habits was given him by those two people, and that after he prepared his article, he sent a copy of it before printing to that lady, and that she sent it back, making one or two suggestions on some other points, but made no objection or suggestions as to Governor Smith's drinking habits. 4-8 coll

As a lifelong Democrat, my earnest desire is that Southern Democrats shall prevent the nomination of this man at Houston by the open, positive declaration that his nomination means the disruption of the Democratic party in the South during the Presidential election. As Senator Simmons has said, after his nomination the Republican party is loaded to make such an attack upon him as will overwhelm him.

We must not allow the Smith crowd to shift the issue to Romanism. My Kansas City address did not do that. It simply emphasized the fact that Governor Smith's Roman Catholic affiliations made him even the more hostile to prohibition. We must also emphasize the Tammany element in his make-up, and the Tammany incubus which the Democratic party would be obliged to carry throughout the entire campaign.

I appreciate the difficulty which faces honest, sincere men like yourself and many others of my Democratic friends, and I am satisfied that the backbone, certainly the moral backbone, of the Democratic party in the South will not easily forget our Democratic leadership if it does not oppose

the nomination of Governor Smith to the limit, and in case he should be nominated, that it does not recognize that there can be no campaign of denunciation of those moral elements of the party which refuse not only to support Governor Smith, but which actively oppose his election. These men have most earnestly warned our political leaders of the consequences which will follow Smith's nomination. In case Smith is nominated the very best I can see will be that those Democratic leaders who can not join in the fight against Smith will at least be exceedingly temperate, indeed very quiet, in any discussion or criticism of the motives and activities of those Democrats who will fight to the end to prevent a wet Tammany politician from becoming President of the United States.

It will be noted that in this personal letter to a man with whom I had had close affiliation I positively insisted that Romanism must not be an issue in the campaign, but that I stressed the wet Tammany record of Governor Smith as the almost certain cause of Democratic disruption in the South in the event of his nomination.

My letter to Senator Swanson was just one week later. My personal relations with him had been very close for over forty years, and I wrote to him as frankly as I possibly could and as earnestly as I possibly could.

I have just returned from the convention at Kansas City. You have noted what action the Republican party took with reference to the dry question. They adopted as strong a plank as the temperance people asked for and gave us as dry candidates as they have. That makes it even more imperative that the action at Houston shall be satisfactory to the dry sentiment in the South. Certainly it seems to me to be of great importance for the maintenance of a full vote for Democratic senators, congressmen, and state officials that the platform of the party shall be entirely satisfactory, regardless of the nominees for President and Vice-President. This does not mean that I do not think that the strongest possible effort should be put forth to defeat Smith's nomination, but it does mean that in whatever state the leadership of the state fights strongly and persistently to the end against such nomination, the dry platform will be a decided safeguard to prevent the scratching of any nominees except men like Smith. Frankly, if Smith is nominated I greatly fear the disruption of the Democratic party in the South so far as the Presidential vote is concerned. But even should that happen every possible effort should be made to poll the usual vote for our Democratic senators, congressmen, and state officials. . . . I expect to be at Houston, and have been requested to be one of the speakers to present to the Committee on Resolutions the wishes of certain groups of our Southern people. I trust that the Roanoke Convention will adopt proper resolutions on law enforcement and on nominating candidates who are in sympathy with such action.

In accordance with the above letter to Senator Swanson, I attended the Democratic convention at Houston. I was greatly interested in the personnel of the Tammany delegation, which was located right across the aisle from the Virginia delegation, where I sat occasionally during the convention. There was no finer looking, better dressed, more polite, less demonstrative delegation in the convention than the delegation sent by Tammany Hall. It was a remarkable contrast to the delegation to the New York Convention in 1924. The Houston delegation had no red-nosed, red-faced men with large stomachs, indicative of their liquor habits. On the contrary, it was composed of the highest type of citizenship which the New York City Democracy could secure. It was led by such persons as George Gordon Battle, Henry Morgenthau, Mrs. Charles Dana Gibson (sister of Lady Astor, prominent temperance worker in England), Franklin D. Roosevelt, and others of like quality. Every effort was made to impress the Southern Democrats that Tammany Hall was composed of a high type of men and women. They were under complete control of [George W.] Olvany, the Tammany boss, but he was not openly prominent. Beyond the nominating speech by Mr. Roosevelt, the Tammany delegates had as little to say on the floor as any delegation in the convention.

The spectacular part of the convention was in the Committee on Resolutions, when the committee considered the prohibition plank. For the first time in the history of the Democratic party its national convention was absolutely dominated by Tammany and its allied forces and the other wet Northern cities. George Olvany, the wet Tammany boss of New York City, Frank Hague, the wet boss of Jersey City, George Brennan, the wet boss of Chicago, were the outstanding figures who, with lieutenants like-minded, determined all matters of real moment.

With the exception of the delegates from the Southern states, the Platform Committee was selected by the Smith leaders in the convention. The committee was overwhelmingly wet, and the subcommittee actually brought in Governor Smith's wet plank for adoption by the full committee. Be it said to the credit of the representatives on the committee from the Southern states that they made a positive, unyielding declaration that if such a plank should be adopted by the full committee they would carry the plank to the floor of the convention and precipitate a fight on the prohibition issue.

This declaration compelled a halt in the program. The Tammany delegates did not want any fight on any question on the floor of the convention. They wanted a "harmony" convention. They were there

for only one purpose, namely, to secure the nomination of Alfred Emanuel Smith for President. Platform planks were matters of little moment to Tammany, for Tammany has never had any principles upon which it bases conduct, not even political principles. Tammany is an organization held together by the cohesive force of public plunder. Its great dominating policy is to take care of the "boys," to see to it that every member of the Tammany organization, from the Grand Sachem down to the lowest precinct runner, has his snout in the public trough and is fed at the public expense.

It is not necessary to recount the methods by which Tammany fills the Wigwam treasury. Within the past twelve months the exposures of graft and corruption have been smeared over the pages of the metropolitan dailies. The New York *Evening Post*, after an investigation, estimated that the graft from the thousands of speak-easies of New York City netted approximately \$20,000,000, which in itself is a sufficient explanation to impartial, fair-minded men of why Governor Smith desired the repeal of the Mullan-Gage Law, so that there might be as little restraint as possible on the illicit liquor traffic, as that traffic would in turn be obliged to pay for protection to the Tammany police. Likewise, Tammany has no principles on the race question. It thinks of the Negro only as a voter who can be useful to the Tammany machine, and so it organized and voted the Negroes of New York City.

Because it has no principles, Tammany yielded on the matter of the prohibition plank, and the wet plank proposed by the subcommittee was not presented to the full committee. During the hearing before the Platform Committee Senator Millard Tydings of Maryland introduced a resolution which would have repealed national prohibition by substituting a plan for each state for itself to determine the alcoholic content with a guarantee by the federal government to protect a dry state from a state allowing larger alcoholic content. Senator Tydings claimed Woodrow Wilson's adherence to his position against the Volstead Law, by declaring in terms of praise of President Wilson that the late Democratic President had vetoed the Volstead Act. That statement was loudly applauded by the wets, among the great crowd which filled the auditorium of the Public Library where the Platform Committee held its meeting. But, as will be indicated later on, that applause was ill-timed.

I had written out the statement which I made before the Platform Committee, and I read it slowly, deliberately, and with no heat. I said:

It may be recalled by some members of the committee that I appeared before the Committee on Resolutions both at the San Francisco and New York conventions, and stated that the people whom I represented did not ask for any plank in the platform, either endorsing or opposing the prohibition principle as a policy of handling the beverage traffic in intoxicating liquors. Furthermore, I emphasized that prohibition had not been made a political, partisan issue either in state or nation, that neither state prohibitory laws, the Eighteenth Amendment, nor the Volstead Act have been proposed or adopted as political party measures, that Democrats and Republicans have supported or opposed these measures without regard to party lines; that it has been possible for dry Democrats and dry Republicans to remain in their respective political parties, and work for party success without the injection of what is so clearly a moral, as well as a social, economic question.

But we are now confronted by a serious situation: for example, the state of Maryland, under its present leadership, has persistently refused to pass a Prohibition Law Enforcement Code, thus rendering the enforcement of the National Prohibition Law exceedingly difficult in that state, with resulting evil to the neighboring states. It was this same state of Maryland, which after Virginia and West Virginia had adopted state-wide prohibition, multiplied its breweries and distilleries, and by automobile, rail, air, and watercraft flooded Virginia and West Virginia with intoxicating liquors, despite the Webb-Kenyon and the Bone-Dry Laws. Liquor lawlessness in states like Maryland compelled state-wide prohibition, and the cry now for states' rights from Maryland is sadly belated. Where were Virginia's "states' rights" when the Maryland liquor dealers were violating them?

At this point in my speech Senator Millard Tydings, of Maryland, rose and shouted, "That's a lie!" and made an impetuous, angry rush from his seat toward the place where I was speaking. His progress, however, was arrested by the bulky form of Senator Cole Blease, of South Carolina, and by Senator Glass of Virginia, both of whom joined in a successful effort to block the progress of the angry man's apparent effort to attack me physically. Senator Pittman, the chairman, called for order. I raised my eyes from my manuscript and looked calmly and deliberately at the speaker. I then, without replying to his charge directly, repeated the language which he had declared to be a lie.

There was a considerable uproar, but the chairman secured order and I continued with my speech as follows:

The state of New York has repealed its State Enforcement Prohibition Code, thus discontinuing active co-operation with the federal enforcement officials, rendering enforcement on the Canadian border and the great port state of New York far more difficult, and with its resultant effects on the rest of the country. Furthermore, the legislature of the state of New York passed a bill attempting to legislate 2.75 per cent beer, which of course was

declared to be unconstitutional by the Supreme Court of the United States. Later the state of New York conducted a so-called referendum on the question of giving to each state the right to determine for itself the alcoholic content of beverage liquors which could be legally manufactured and sold in each state which, if adopted by Congress, and declared Constitutional by the Supreme Court (an impossible supposition) would restore the former evil conditions when wet states deluged dry territory with their legally manufactured liquors. In addition to these difficulties to nation-wide law enforcement there are voices actually raised demanding openly that this democratic convention declare in favor of the repeal of the amendment.

In view of these open, positive efforts to hamper and to weaken the effective enforcement of the Eighteenth Amendment, I am here today to advocate the adoption of a plank:—A plank recognizing clearly that the Eighteenth Amendment has been made a part of the Constitution by the processes provided in the Constitution for such an amendment and that the Democratic party will stand positively, unreservedly for the maintenance of the Constitution and in view of existing conditions specifically for the maintenance of the Eighteenth Amendment. That it pledges the nominee of the party to a program of vigorous, efficient enforcement of the Eighteenth Amendment and necessary supporting legislation including adequate appropriations for said enforcement.

There are only two courses possible for patriotic, law-abiding citizens. 1. (The law must be enforced as long as it is the law.) If the Democratic party is to maintain its standing, indeed if it is to continue to exist as a great permanent force in our national life, it must stand positively, unqualifiedly for the effective enforcement of the Constitution and laws of the United States, and as the enemy of nullification in every form, insidious or open. . . .

2. If any patriotic, law-abiding citizen desires to change the terms of the Eighteenth Amendment materially, or to secure its repeal, such change or repeal may be sought not by indirection, not by so weakening the provisions of the Enforcement Code, or by such limitations of appropriations as will make efficient prohibition enforcement impossible, not by nullification more or less open, but by the regular constitutional method: by the same process exactly as was followed by the advocates of the Eighteenth Amendment in securing its ratification. The advocates of the Eighteenth Amendment did not come to the convention of either the Democratic or the Republican party and ask that the prohibition policy be adopted as a plank of the party platform.

The whole question was fought out among the people who voted in the election of the five thousand legislators by whom the Eighteenth Amendment was ratified, not as a partisan political issue, but as a great moral and social problem to be considered and decided altogether apart from party affiliations. Why should these gentlemen who are advocating the repeal or some fundamental change in the purpose and scope of the Eighteenth Amendment come to the national Democratic convention and ask the con-

vention to stand for sweeping modification, or for the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment? As I have said, the advocates of prohibition have never asked the Democratic party to brand itself as the dry party of the country. Why should these gentlemen now ask that the Democratic party brand itself as the wet party of the country? I most solemnly assert to the gentlemen of the committee that on a great moral question of this kind loyalty to moral convictions should and will transcend political party loyalty. To brand the Democratic party at this juncture as wet, or as unwilling to pledge itself to the most active positive efforts to maintain and to enforce prohibition laws will sorely grieve multiplied millions of Democratic men women, and will inevitably bring disaster to the Democratic party.

I deny that Woodrow Wilson vetoed the Volstead Act because of his opposition to prohibition. It is an unwarranted reflection on the greatest Democrat of the present century. I quote now the exact words used by President Wilson in vetoing the Volstead Act: "It will not be difficult for Congress in considering this important matter to separate these two questions and effectively to legislate regarding them, making the proper distinction between temporary causes which arose out of wartime emergencies and those like the Constitutional amendment of prohibition which is now a part of the fundamental law of this country. In all matters having to do with the personal habits and customs of large numbers of our people we must be certain that the established processes of legal change are followed." (And now listen to this last sentence of the veto message). "In no other way can the salutary object sought be accomplished, or great reforms of this character be made satisfactory and permanent."—Woodrow Wilson.

I hold in my hand the *Journal* of the last session of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, the highest body of that Church, which is third largest Protestant denomination in this country, from which I quote: "After the presentation of the Episcopal address the following resolution was adopted: *Resolved*, that the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, assembled in Memphis, Tennessee, representing a Christian citizenship of more than two million, seven hundred thousand, hereby respectfully and earnestly petition [the] Congress of the United States to reject all proposals to enact any legislation which has as its object nullification or the weakening of the Prohibition Enforcement Act, commonly known as the Volstead Law. We most positively insist that when men openly flaunt their determination to violate any laws of our country the government must suppress anarchy and compel obedience to the law absolutely regardless of cost."

The above action was not taken by a casual, accidental group of laymen, but by the picked, elected leadership of one of the largest, most progressive denominations of our country.⁷

7. At this point pages which cover the remainder of the Houston Convention and Asheville Conference seem to be missing from the original manuscript. The editor has added

[With the nomination of Governor Smith for the Presidency together with the latter's famous telegram to the Democratic convention in which he pledged law enforcement but at the same time stated his intention to secure modification of the laws concerning prohibition, Cannon determined to work for Smith's defeat. His first move was to call a conference of "dry" Democrats to meet at Asheville, North Carolina.

[INVITATION TO ATTEND DRY DEMOCRATIC CONFERENCE
ASHEVILLE, N. C., JULY 18-19, 1928

STATE-PLANTERS BANK BLDG.
RICHMOND, VA.,
July 9, 1928

DEAR DRY FELLOW-WORKER:

The Democratic Convention at Houston refused to adopt a proposed "Wet" plank calling for the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment, or the weakening modification of the Volstead Act, or to adopt a plank endorsing the principle of prohibition. But the convention did adopt a plank pledging the Democratic party and the nominees of the convention to the honest enforcement of the Eighteenth Amendment and of all laws enacted pursuant thereto, including the Volstead Act. The convention then nominated for President the "Wet" Tammany Governor of New York, Alfred E. Smith, and at the very close of the convention a telegram was read from Governor Smith in which while agreeing to stand upon the Law Enforcement Plank, he declared that he considered it to be the duty of the chosen leader of the

the portion of the text in brackets. In his draft of the chapter on the Episcopacy Cannon included the following statement:

"In 1928 Bishop Mouzon made a statement, widely quoted in the press, that Southern Democrats had no real natural ties with the Democrats in the Northern cities, controlled by Tammany under Al Smith in New York, Hague in Jersey City, Brennan in Chicago, and others, that these controlled city Democrats were opposed to the purposes which animated the Southern Democrats, and that the South should sever all its relations with these Northern groups.

"While I was in thorough sympathy with Bishop Mouzon's attitude toward the boss-controlled Democrats indicated by him, yet I doubted the wisdom of the utterance at the time at which it was made. When, however, the Houston Convention nominated Governor Alfred Emanuel Smith, and he sent his last-minute telegram to the Houston Convention, and the call was issued by Dr. Barton and myself for the Asheville meeting of Anti-Smith Democrats, Bishop Mouzon attended that conference and made an address at the public night meeting, in which he practically reiterated the statement referred to above. He voted for the platform and principles enunciated by the Asheville Conference. Later on he, along with Bishops John M. Moore and H. M. DuBose, signed a statement which I prepared in reply to a statement made by Bishop Candler, and endorsed by Bishop Denny, concerning the attitude of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, toward participation in elections involving the liquor traffic. His attitude remained the same throughout the campaign, but there was no change in our personal relations."

people to point the way for the modification of the National Prohibition Act, so as to give more power to the individual states. By this prompt, emphatic expression of his determination to emphasize his own "wet" modification views, and as the leader of the Democrat party to secure their adoption, if possible, Governor Smith voiced a flat refusal to accept the carefully considered decision of the Resolutions Committee, approved by the Convention, that the Democratic party should not be branded as either "wet" or "dry," but as demanding honest law enforcement of the prohibition laws. Such rejection of the decision of the convention was not courageous as has been asserted, but was a deliberate political action to emphasize Governor Smith's wetness, and was made in order to secure the "wet" Republican vote throughout the country. It was moreover an open attack upon the position of "dry" Democrats everywhere, who are thus publicly notified that they must surrender their moral convictions to enable this "wet" Tammany candidate to secure a so-called Democratic victory by a combination of "wet" and "dry" voters. We confidently believe that multiplied thousands of "dry" Southern Democrats will refuse to be a party to this unholy alliance, and will decide that they can render no greater service to the Democratic party than to aid in defeating this "wet" Tammany candidate for the Presidency, thus maintaining the ideals, self-respect and unity of Southern Democracy.

Following shortly after the reading of the Smith telegram the undersigned on their own responsibility, not as church officials, but as individuals [*sic*] citizens, gave notice through the press that a conference will be held at Battery Park Hotel, Asheville, N. C., beginning at 3 P.M., July 18th, for the definite purpose of organizing at once for the election of "dry" Democratic senatorial, congressional and state nominees, and for the defeat of the "wet" Tammany candidate for president. The conference is not called to organize a third party, but to preserve the ideals, the self-respect and the unity of our Southern Democracy.

If you are in sympathy with us in this effort, you are hereby invited to attend this conference, bringing this letter with you as your credentials in exchange for admission ticket, for the conference will not be an open convention or mass meeting, but in order to secure the highest efficiency will be limited to those who have been definitely invited to assist in the organization of the "dry" Democratic voters of the South for the purposes already indicated. Kindly write or wire promptly to Bishop James Cannon, Jr., State-Planters Bank Building, Richmond, Virginia, stating:

FIRST: DO YOU EXPECT TO ATTEND THE CONFERENCE?

SECOND: SEND NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF PERSONS YOU THINK SHOULD BE INVITED.

THIRD: IF IMPOSSIBLE TO ATTEND AND SYMPATHETIC SEND CHECK TO ASSIST THIS WORK.

Round trip tickets good on any train that day are on sale July 17th, with the time limit of 20 days, at all stations on all railroads South of the Potomac

and Ohio and east of the Mississippi (except on the Atlantic Coast Line and Seaboard Air Line railways) to Ridge Crest, Black Mountain, or Lake Junaluska, for one fare plus \$1.00 for the round trip. Asheville is on the same railroad (Southern) within 20 miles of these Southern Church Assembly Grounds, and arrangements can be made for prompt validation of tickets. Also regular summer excursion tickets to Asheville are on sale at all times from all points in the United States. Reservations can be made at Battery Park Hotel at \$3.50 per day for single room with bath; \$6.00 per day double room with bath.

ARTHUR J. BARTON, ATLANTA, GA.

JAMES CANNON, JR., RICHMOND, VA.

According to the *Durham Morning Herald* (July 19, 1928), "A total of 267 men and women greeted Bishop Cannon . . . when he called the session to order as temporary chairman" on July 18. Barton was then chosen permanent chairman and Cannon secretary. Registration for the convention indicated that the states had delegates present as follows: Alabama, 16; Arkansas, 4; Mississippi, 2; Maryland, 2; Tennessee, 15; South Carolina, 13; Texas, 3; West Virginia, 12; North Carolina, 113; and Virginia, 17.

[DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES AND PURPOSES OF THE
CONFERENCE OF ANTI-SMITH DEMOCRATS

Adopted at Asheville, N. C., July 19, 1928

This conference, composed of dry anti-Smith Democrats, men and women from every Southern state, makes the following declaration of principles, purposes, and program.

ALL SOUTHERN DEMOCRATS

We have been in the past and we are today Southern Democrats. We are the children of men who adopted and supported the principles of Thomas Jefferson and Andrew Jackson, and we ourselves have been steadfast supporters of the policies of Tilden, of Cleveland, and of that highest latter-day product of Southern Democracy, Woodrow Wilson. We declare our allegiance to the principles of Democracy as set forth and exemplified in 125 years of our nation's history. We specifically assert and emphasize the prime necessity for the maintenance in unimpaired vigor of the Democratic party in every Southern state. We favor and shall work for the election of dry Democratic local and state officials and for dry Democratic candidates for the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States.

We shall vigorously oppose any effort which may be made by the Republican party to take advantage of differences of opinions among Southern Democrats concerning the Presidential nominee to elect in any Southern state Republican nominees for the United States Senate, for the National House of Representatives, or for any State officers. We believe that the best interests, not only of the Southern states, but of the nation, demand the maintenance of Democratic control of all local government in the Southern

states and of continued Southern leadership of the Democratic party in the halls of the national Congress, for the backbone of Jeffersonian Democracy, is today, as it ever has been, in the Southern states.

ANTI-SMITH DEMOCRATS

While declaring our unswerving allegiance to the principles of true Democracy and our determination to labor to preserve the spirit, ideals, and unity of our Southern Democracy, we have deliberately and finally decided that we cannot support Governor Alfred E. Smith, the nominee of the Houston convention, for the Presidency of the United States, and we hereby pledge ourselves, as anti-Smith Democrats, to use all proper and honorable means to secure his defeat. This decision is based upon the following reasons:

WHY ANTI-SMITH

First, Governor Smith's repudiation of the Houston platform on prohibition.

Second, Governor Smith's wet record.

Third, Governor Smith's selection of a "wet" Republican as chairman of the national Democratic Committee.

Fourth, Governor Smith's relation to Tammany Hall.

After protracted discussion, the committee on the platform of the Houston Convention definitely refused to adopt on the one hand the proposed wet plank calling for the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment, or even for weakening modifications of the Volstead Act, and it refused on the other hand to adopt a plank specifically endorsing the principles of prohibition of pledging the party to the maintenance of the Volstead Act. But the platform Committee did adopt the plank pledging the Democratic party and the nominees of the convention to the honest enforcement of the Eighteenth Amendment and of all laws enacted pursuant thereto including the Volstead Act.

CONVENTION'S ACTION

And the convention itself formally approved this action of the Platform Committee.

First. The Convention then nominated for President Governor Alfred E. Smith, and at the very close of the convention, there was a belated reading of a belated telegram from Governor Smith, in which, while agreeing to stand upon the law enforcement plank, he declared that he considered it to be the duty of the chosen leader of the people to point the way for the modification of the National Prohibition Act, especially with the view of giving more power to the individual states. By this belated expression of his determination to emphasize his own wet modification views and as the leader of the Democratic party to secure their adoption, Governor Smith, while still holding to the nomination, voiced a flat refusal to accept the carefully considered decision of the Platform Committee which had been approved by a formal vote of the convention, that the Democratic party should not

be branded as either "wet" or "dry," but simply as demanding honest enforcement of the prohibition law.

NOT COURAGEOUS

Such belated rejection of the deliberately adopted platform of the convention was not at all courageous, as has been loudly and approvingly asserted.

A courageous man would have followed the example of Judge Alton B. Parker in 1904 and refused to accept the nomination on a platform from which had been deliberately and positively excluded all proposed wet repeal or modification planks.

BRAZEN POLITICAL EFFRONTERY

But the belated sending of Governor Smith's two-faced telegram was an action of brazen, political effrontery, planned in advance, taken for the purpose of emphasizing, in spectacular fashion, Governor Smith's opposition to prohibition in order to secure the wet Republican vote, especially in the North and East. It was at the same time an open, inconsiderate, shameless defiance of the position of dry Democrats everywhere, and especially in the South, who were thus publicly and insolently notified that they must surrender their convictions on a great moral question and must vote to enable this wet Tammany sachem to secure a so-called Democratic victory by a combination of wet voters in the North and East with dry voters in the South, with a positive declaration that if elected the wet Tammany candidate would regard his election as a mandate to advocate and secure the adoption, if possible, of drastic modification of the prohibition law.

TAMMANY METHODS

Such a shameless proposition of political double-dealing is in full accord with Tammany methods and ideals, but must be indignantly rejected by honorable, self-respecting Southern Democrats who will refuse to commit moral suicide to secure the spoils of a petty partisan political victory.

HIS "WET RECORD"

Second, Governor Smith's wet record.

Governor Alfred E. Smith is aggressively, irreconcilably wet. Governor Smith's entire record is wet. He was an advocate and defender of saloons when they existed, for inferentially he repeatedly put his "foot on the brass rail and blew the foam off the glass," for he has openly expressed his desire to help repeal the prohibition law so that it can be done again. In his political activities he recognized the saloon as an important factor. As a legislator, he not only opposed measures to restrict the privileges of saloons, but endeavored to remove existing restrictions. He fought in preprohibition days every effort to extend the application of the principle of local option, which principle he so vociferously advocates today. He fought the ratification of the Eighteenth Amendment, and has bitterly criticized the legislature of New York, which did ratify the same. He fought the passage of the Mullan-

Gage state law enforcement code, and after that code had been enacted by the New York State legislature, he labored aggressively and persistently until he had secured its repeal. He is responsible for the ineffective enforcement of prohibition in New York, and for the horrible vice-conditions, which the committee on vice has recently reported to be worse in New York City than they have been for the past twenty years.

URGED UNCONSTITUTIONAL BILLS

He advocated the passage of the 2.75 beer bill, which the United States Supreme Court declared to be unconstitutional, and he urged the holding of a futile referendum to permit each state to determine what shall be the legal content of the beverages permitted to be manufactured and sold. Although sworn to maintain and defend the Constitution of the United States, including the Eighteenth Amendment, his whole course has been such as to nullify the Eighteenth Amendment as far as possible in the state of New York. If he interprets his oath (which he has taken four times as Governor of the State of New York) to defend the Constitution of the United States in such a fashion, how can he be expected to put any different interpretation on the oath which he will be obliged to take as President of the United States to maintain and defend exactly the same constitution?

It is unthinkable that the moral, religious leadership of the South can be a party to the election of such a man as Governor Smith, thus being guilty of an open betrayal of the great social, economic, and moral reform which was won for our children and our homes after years of unselfish labor. We believe we represent multiplied thousands of lifelong Democrats, who have decided that genuine Democracy will be better served by the defeat of the wet Tammany sachem than by his election, and who, as anti-Smith Democrats, will act accordingly.

SELECTS "WET" REPUBLICAN

Third, Governor Smith's selection of a wet Republican as chairman of the National Democratic Committee.

The insulting, conscienceless attitude of the wet Tammany candidate toward the dry voters of the Democratic party has now been emphasized even more strongly by Governor Smith's selection as chairman of the National Democratic Committee of John J. Raskob, the Vice-Chairman of the Association against the Prohibition Amendment, a member of the Republican Union League Club, and a voter for Coolidge in the election of 1924. Mr. Raskob promptly responded with a speech which had been carefully prepared in advance, reiterating as its outstanding feature the sentiments of the said "wet" Tammany governor in opposition to prohibition. This speech by Mr. Raskob was followed a day later by a statement to the press that he had accepted the position of chairman of the Democratic National Committee because he saw "an opportunity of performing some constructive service by helping relieve the country of the damnable affliction of prohibi-

tion." And the following day Mr. Raskob gave to the press a statement that he favors a scheme of control of the manufacture, sale, and transportation of intoxicating liquors by which it may be had for home consumption, without the return of the saloon, in such communities as vote therefor under a local option law, which scheme, if put into effect, would necessitate the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment and the return to state control of the liquor traffic with the substitution of a kind of state dispensary for the old saloon.

LEADERSHIP REPUDIATED

Such a clear-cut, definite repudiation of the action taken at Houston and such a vicious assault upon prohibition as a "damnable affliction" demand a like clear-cut definite repudiation by all dry Democrats of the wet Tammany nominee of the Houston Convention, Governor Alfred E. Smith. And we flatly and unequivocally refuse to accept or to follow such faithless, immoral leadership; and we affirm that we are standing for the highest moral interests of the Democratic party in thus rejecting the insolent dictatorship which has thus been ruthlessly assumed by Governor Smith and by his quondam Union League Club Republican Chairman, John Jacob Raskob.

Fourth, Governor Smith's Relation to Tammany Hall.

Furthermore, this double-faced political trickery, this brazen effrontery, this shameless betrayal of moral principles for the spoils of office are essentially characteristic of Tammany Hall and the allied grafting groups or organizations in other cities which are held together by the cohesive power of public plunder and which were lined up solidly to force the nomination of Governor Smith. The outstanding leaders of the Smith forces at Houston were Olvany of New York, Hague of Jersey City, and Brennan of Chicago, all aggressively wet and all leaders of city organizations, whose openly recognized reason for existence is not to support or advance great party principles, but to plunder and pillage in a variety of ways the people of the cities in which these men are publicly acclaimed as "bosses." With this element of the Democratic party, Southern Democracy has nothing in common.

TAMMANY ALWAYS TRAITOR

It was this element which fought Tilden, which tried to compass the defeat of Grover Cleveland, which openly and persistently knifed William Jennings Bryan and by the public chastisement and repudiation of which Bryan secured the nomination of Wilson; which although electing the wet Tammany, Alfred E. Smith, Governor of New York four times, utterly failed to deliver its vote either to Wilson, Cox, or Davis. Its usual relationship to the Democratic party has been that of a traitor, and its ideals and purposes are today as apart as the poles from those of our Southern Democracy. Indeed the nomination of Governor Smith was in defiance of the known wishes of the Democracy of the South, the votes of which are absolutely essential for a Democratic victory. Virginia, North Carolina, South

Carolina, Florida, Georgia, Alabama, Tennessee, Texas, and Mississippi openly opposed the nomination of Governor Smith. The delegates from Louisiana were appointed by a process of hand-picking, and the delegates from Kentucky and Arkansas were organized and voted with reference to the Vice-Presidential ambitions of favorite sons. Governor Smith was nominated by those sections of the country, which rarely, if ever, are found in the Democratic column, and it will be impossible for him to be elected President of the United States without the electoral votes of those Southern States which were openly opposed to his nomination to the Presidency. We cannot agree to become a party to the installation in the Executive Mansion of the United States of a man who has been in his legislative and executive career aggressively and irreconcilably wet, and who is Tammany-branded with all the inferences and implications and objectionable consequences which naturally, indeed necessarily, follow from such views and associations. On the contrary we must endeavor in every honorable way to prevent such a distressing calamity.

VOTE FOR HOOVER

The most direct and effective way, indeed, the only way in which to insure the defeat of this wet Tammany candidate is that our dry Southern Democratic voters cast their ballots in the coming election for Herbert Hoover, who in the words of Dr. E. Y. Mullins, President of the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary and a lifelong Democrat, "is the world citizen, the great humanitarian, the great organizer, the man of world vision, the man with expert knowledge of flood control on the Mississippi, the man nominated by the people, not by the politicians, the man whose personal habits, conscientious convictions and political creed are in harmony with his platform and on the right side."

SAVE SOUTHERN DEMOCRACY

In conclusion, we would emphasize once again the imperative duty of anti-Smith Democrats of voting for our dry Democratic senatorial, congressional, and state nominees in order that our Southern Democracy may come out of this campaign freed from the taint of the wet Tammany defilement, but with its control of the State government and with its congressional representation unimpaired. . . .]

ANTI-SMITH DEMOCRATS

After the Asheville Conference I returned promptly to Richmond to make arrangements for the setting up of headquarters for the work of the campaign. A cash collection of about \$1,000 was made at the Asheville Conference, and I was satisfied from the temper of that Conference that an appeal to the country would secure contributions from all the Southern States, and if we could reach the Northern and Western states we would also have a large amount contributed by persons outside the South.

I therefore prepared with great care an appeal to be published in every newspaper which would publish it, and wrote a letter to all pastors and sympathizers whose post office addresses I knew, asking for a list of names to whom to send the appeal. In addition to the appeal I enclosed a subscription card. . . .

I rented front rooms of practically the entire sixth floor of Murphy's Hotel Annex, giving a private office for myself, a large general office for stenographers and literature, a private office and bedroom for Mr. Peters and my son David, who drove my car during the campaign, a bedroom for my wife and myself, and a room across the hall for some of our assistant workers.

The resolutions and the "Declaration of Principles" of the Asheville Conference were prepared for the printer, and very many thousands of copies were printed at once and sent out through the mails to all addresses obtainable. I gave out many, many interviews to the newspapers, some of which were still very skeptical as to any real importance of the anti-Smith movement.

In my conferences with Dr. Peters certain general principles were outlined. It was decided to organize an Anti-Smith Headquarters Committee for the entire South, and a separate committee for the state of Virginia. The committee for the entire South was composed of James Cannon, Jr., chairman; J. Sidney Peters, secretary; and Miss Ada L. Burroughs, treasurer. This committee was to handle all the funds which came in for general work throughout the South. It was to keep an accurate account of receipts and expenditures and make a report to the Clerk of the House of Representatives.

There was also organized a Virginia State Committee, which committee was composed of James Cannon, Jr., chairman and treasurer; J. Sidney Peters, secretary, and one member from each Congressional District of Virginia to be selected by the chairman and the secretary. The funds of this committee were kept entirely separate from those of the committee operating throughout the South.

It was agreed that I should have charge of the field work throughout the South and in the state of Virginia, and that Dr. Peters would have charge of the organization of the state of Virginia, and would direct the disbursement of all funds for the Virginia state work. This plan was followed very carefully and efficiently throughout the campaign.

Another matter which I emphasized was that as far as possible all meetings were to be held in the open air, or in public halls, and not in churches, and this method also was carefully followed. In accordance with this plan the first meeting in Richmond was held in

Chimborazo Park on Church Hill. The announcement of the meeting was given only one day before, but there was a great crowd present, and the speeches of Drs. T. R. Reeves and W. A. Christian and myself were received with great applause.⁸ Mr. Louis Powell, a very prominent Baptist layman, assisted in the organization of this meeting. The Richmond newspapers began to realize that there was real conflict on hand, and they began to follow the activities of the anti-Smith Democrats with their best reporters and with editorial comment.

Mr. John Jacob Raskob, the wet Republican whom Governor Alfred Emanuel Smith had selected to be the chairman of the National Committee of the Democratic Party, gave out to the press a statement which called for an immediate, positive answer. Mr. Raskob declared: "Substantial people in the South, including Methodists, are saying to their preachers: 'This opposition must stop or you will receive no contributions.' They are serving notices on the preachers that those who are trying to inject religion into the campaign must cease."

I made immediate prompt reply to Mr. Raskob's challenge to the Methodist preachers under the title of an article:

MUZZLING METHODIST PREACHERS

John J. Raskob, a former Republican but now chairman of the Democratic National Convention Committee, is reported by the secular press to have prophesied the immediate muzzling of Methodist ministers. Mr. Raskob says:

"Substantial people in the South, including Methodists, are saying to their preachers: 'This opposition must stop or you will receive no contributions.' They are serving notice on the preachers that those who are trying to inject religion into the campaign must cease."

It is not surprising that this high official of the Roman Catholic Knights of Columbus, judging from the situation in his own church in which the priesthood must accept the decision of the Vatican without protest on pain of excommunication, should imagine that similar conditions prevail among Methodists and other Protestant churches. But even a moderate acquaintance with church history must have told Mr. Raskob that John Wesley, the founder of Methodism, who 200 years ago denounced dram sellers as poisoners in general and who was shamefully vilified and personally assailed with mud, sticks and stones, persisted in his work regardless of persecution and founded one of the greatest religious denominations in the world—the Methodist Church.

8. Thomas Rosser Reeves and W. Asbury Christian were both associated with Cannon in connection with Blackstone Female Institute. Reeves was associate principal from 1910-1914 when Cannon was particularly active with the Virginia Anti-Saloon League and engaged in establishing the Southern Assembly at Lake Junaluska. Christian became president when Cannon finally resigned in 1918.

Pursuing his study, Mr. Raskob would have learned that itinerant Methodist preachers and missionaries, notwithstanding poverty, ridicule and persecution, have carried the evangelical gospel throughout the world and in countries under the domination of Roman Catholicism, such as Spain, Italy, Austria, Poland, Mexico and the South American states and have preached this same gospel in spite of the bitter opposition and persecution, even unto death sometimes, at the hands of the intolerant Roman Catholic priesthood and its blinded, subservient, fanatical followers.

During all history the Methodist Church has followed in the footsteps of its Lord in the open, positive efforts to destroy the works of the devil, chief of which has been the traffic in intoxicating liquors. During all the years of struggle for national prohibition, Methodist ministers were threatened in many ways and some lovers of liquor more than of Methodist teaching quit the Methodist Church.

Methodist ministers refused to be muzzled then, and I can assure Mr. Raskob, from my knowledge of them, they will not be muzzled now by the threat of a Roman Catholic Knight of Columbus, even though he has actually deserted the Republican party, accepted the chairmanship of the National Democratic Committee to rid the country of the "damnable affliction of prohibition."

Furthermore, I challenge Mr. Raskob to give the names of the "substantial people of the South, including Methodists," who are insulting the pastors with the threat of a financial boycott because they are fighting the soul-destroying liquor traffic which is incarnated today in Mr. Raskob and Governor Alfred E. Smith. For every diminution of contributions, genuine loyal Methodists, who hate the infamous liquor traffic, will reimburse the church treasury fourfold.

Mr. Raskob's threatened boycott is not simply insulting, but it is a silly political blunder of the first magnitude, again demonstrating his unfitness to lead the Democracy of the South, and it can be accounted for only because he thinks of Methodist ministers and Protestant ministers as he is in the habit of thinking of the Roman Catholic priesthood. He cannot muzzle Methodist ministers.

This reply was not at all relished by the Smith Democrats and the Smith newspapers. They immediately accused me of dragging in the religious issue, utterly disregarding the fact that John Jacob Raskob himself, the high official of the Roman Catholic Knights of Columbus, had himself made an open attack on the Protestant ministry of the South, mentioning the Methodists by name. While I did not desire that the religious issue should have any part whatever in the campaign, yet I foresaw just what did happen, namely, that Governor Smith and his Roman Catholic Chairman Raskob would in their desperation endeavor to make the matter of religious intolerance one of the great issues of

the campaign, and I prepared myself to meet that issue when it came, both by speech and by the printed page.

As the International Congress against Alcoholism was to be held in Antwerp on August 24, I arranged to hold meetings in a number of the Southern states before sailing for Europe. Many of my friends were surprised that I should go to Europe at that time after starting the initiation of the anti-Smith campaign at Asheville. But I had suffered such a severe breakdown in the year 1927 and had come so near to death that I decided that it was absolutely necessary for me to have the ocean voyage, and entire separation, so far as possible, from the campaign for three weeks. Before going, however, I arranged with Dr. A. J. Barton to hold meetings in Jacksonville, Florida; Macon, Georgia; Raleigh, North Carolina; Birmingham, Alabama; and even in Charleston, South Carolina, in order to organize state committees of the anti-Smith Democrats.

These meetings were held, and I never attended conferences of men more determined and influential in their states than the conferences held in those cities. In all these states, and in Tennessee and Kentucky, strong committees were organized to carry on the campaign work. I was unable to go to Texas, or to Oklahoma, or Tennessee, until after my return from Europe. But the Anti-Smith leaders in all the Southern states were active and aggressive. At all these meetings not only were the principles of the Asheville Conference clearly enunciated, but the appeal was made for contributions to carry on not only the work in the several states, but to carry on the work of the Headquarters Committee for the entire South located in Richmond. I realized that the burden of the preparation of literature and its proper circulation would rest largely upon the Richmond office.

Returning to Virginia from these meetings in other states, I went to Norfolk to perfect our organization there, and spoke in the Armory to a packed house. The tremendous Norfolk response to the anti-Smith appeal startled the Smith newspapers, and they began to realize that they had a real fight on their hands, even in wet Norfolk.

The last meetings held in Virginia before my sailing for Europe were at Staunton and Petersburg. The meeting at Staunton was an organization rather than a mass meeting. A conference of leaders from the Seventh and part of the Tenth Districts of Virginia was held, at which Senator George N. Conrad, of Harrisonburg, was elected as the leader for the section of the state, and in no part of the state was there developed a finer organization.

I drove directly from Staunton to Petersburg, where on August 15 I spoke to a very large and representative audience in the Armory. The meeting was extremely enthusiastic and highly encouraging, and with the echoes of those two meetings in my mind I took the night train to New York, and the next day I took the steamer *Mauretania* at 4 P.M., having given out the strongest interviews I could to the Associated Press and to the leading New York papers concerning the determination and the activity of the anti-Smith Democrats, and the widespread extent of the movement throughout the South.

Before sailing for Europe it was necessary to arrange for financing the work of the Richmond office, both for the Headquarters Committee of the South, and the Headquarters Committee of Virginia. Contributions were coming in daily from almost every section of the country, but not in very large amounts, and it became necessary for me to place to the credit of the treasurer of the Anti-Smith Democrats, Miss Ada L. Burroughs, \$2500, and to place in the hands of Dr. Peters a similar amount for the Virginia state organization work.

In order that there might be no duplication of effort, or of expenditure of money, I had a lengthy conference with Mr. C. Bascom Slemph,⁹ who was in charge of the Republican campaign in Virginia. The scope of the work of the Virginia State Committee of the Anti-Smith Democrats and of the Virginia Republican State Committee was clearly outlined and agreed upon. In order that there might be some understanding on the part of Mr. Slemph of the magnitude of the work which I was planning to do throughout the South, I prepared a budget, itemizing the cost of the various kinds of publications that I thought necessary to be printed and distributed, the cost of office expenses, postage, telephone and telegraph service, of travel, of remuneration of speakers, and every form of activity which should be carried on.

I left this estimate of the necessary budget with Mr. Slemph and with Dr. Peters before sailing for Europe. It was clearly understood between Mr. Slemph and myself that the Anti-Smith Democrats did not ask or expect or desire any contributions from the Republican National Committee. But, just as I had stated at Asheville, the Anti-Smith Democrats would be very glad to receive contributions from any individuals who might be stirred by the determination of Southern Democrats to put moral principle above purely party loyalty.

9. C. Bascome Slemph (1870-1943), Virginia lawyer and businessman, became chairman of the Republican State Committee of Virginia in 1905. He served as congressman (1907-1923) and secretary to President Coolidge (1923-1925). He wrote a volume on Coolidge called *The Mind of the President*.

The voyage to Europe was, as always, restful and energizing. I stopped in England only for a day, but was besieged at the Fleet Street office of the World League against Alcoholism by reporters of both English and American papers for statements, which I gave, and for prophesies as to the results of the Southern "uprising," as they called it, which prophesies I declined to make.

At the International Congress on Alcoholism at Brussels the situation in America was the all-absorbing topic. As I recall, there were present at the Congress as outstanding speakers Dr. J. M. Doran, the Commissioner of Prohibition, and the Reverend Deets Pickett, one of the Assistant Secretaries of the Board of Temperance, Prohibition, and Public Morals of the Methodist Episcopal Church, located in Washington.

I was kept so busy answering cables and correspondence from home that I was not able to participate as largely in the work of the Congress as I usually did. As chairman of the Executive Committee of the World League against Alcoholism, I gave a luncheon to all the members of the branches of the World League in the various European countries, along with some other leaders of the Congress, and at that luncheon made a clear, full statement of the action which had been taken by the Anti-Smith Democrats in the South. I stated very positively that I was satisfied that the movement would split what had been known in the past as the "Solid Democratic South," and that Governor Smith would be defeated. Of course this statement was cabled to the United States.

While I was at Brussels, Gov. Alfred Emanuel Smith delivered his speech of acceptance. Mr. Edwin L. James, the head of the New York *Times* office in Paris, called me long distance and stated that he would either wire or telephone me the full text of Governor Smith's statement on prohibition if I would prepare a reply to his statement to be cabled to the New York *Times*. I appreciated the importance of making this reply as the chairman of the Anti-Smith Democrats promptly, in order that the American public might have an official statement. I recognized very clearly, however, the difficulty of making an accurate analysis and convincing reply to a statement which Governor Smith had doubtless prepared with the greatest care after consultation with his best advisers.

In view of its primary importance, the statement of Governor Smith on prohibition in his acceptance speech is given in full:

The President of the United States has two constitutional duties with respect to prohibition. The first is embodied in his oath of office. If, with one hand on the Bible and the other hand reaching up to heaven, I promise the

people of this country that "I will faithfully execute the office of the President of the United States and to the best of my ability preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States," you may be sure that I shall live up to that oath to the last degree. I shall to the very limit execute the pledge of our platform "to make an honest endeavor to enforce the Eighteenth Amendment and all other provisions of the Federal Constitution and all laws enacted pursuant thereto."

The President does not make the laws. He does his best to execute them whether he likes them or not. The corruption in enforcement activities which caused a former Republican Prohibition Administrator to state that three fourths of the dry agents were political ward heelers named by politicians without regard to civil service laws and that prohibition is the "new political pork barrel," I will ruthlessly stamp out. Such conditions can not and will not exist under any administration presided over by me.

The second constitutional duty imposed upon the President is "To recommend to the Congress such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient." Opinion upon prohibition cuts squarely across the two great political parties. There are thousands of so-called "wets and dries" in each. The platform of my party is silent upon any question of change in the law. I personally believe that there should be change and I shall advise the Congress in accordance with my constitutional duty of whatever changes I deem "necessary or expedient." It will then be for the people and the representatives in the national and state legislatures to determine whether these changes shall be made.

I will state the reasons for my belief. In a book *Law and Origin*, recently called to my notice, James C. Carter, one of the leaders of the bar of this country, wrote of the conditions which exist "when a law is made declaring conduct widely practiced and widely regarded as innocent to be a crime." He points out that in the enforcement of such a law "trials become scenes of perjury and subornation of perjury; juries find abundant excuses for rendering acquittal or persisting in disagreement contrary to their oaths" and he concludes, "Perhaps worst of all is that general regard and reverence for law are impaired, a consequence the mischief of which can scarcely be estimated." These words, written years before the Eighteenth Amendment or the Volstead Act, were prophetic of our situation today.

I believe in temperance. We have not achieved temperance under the present system. The mothers and fathers of young men and women throughout this land know the anxiety and worry which has been brought to them by their children's use of liquor in a way which was unknown before prohibition. I believe in reverence for law. Today disregard of the prohibition laws is insidiously sapping respect for all law. I raise, therefore, what I profoundly believe to be a great moral issue involving the righteousness of our national conduct and the protection of our children's morals.

The remedy, as I have stated, is the fearless application of Jeffersonian principles. Jefferson and his followers foresaw the complex activities of this

great, widespread country. They knew that in rural, sparsely settled districts people would develop different desires and customs from those in densely populated sections, and that if we were to be a nation united on truly national matters there had to be a differentiation in local laws to allow for different local habits. It was for this reason that the Democratic platform in 1884 announced: "We oppose sumptuary laws which vex the citizens and interfere with individual liberty," and it was for this reason that Woodrow Wilson vetoed the Volstead Act.

In accordance with this Democratic principle, some immediate relief would come from an amendment to the Volstead Law giving a scientific definition of the alcoholic content of an intoxicating beverage. The present definition is admittedly inaccurate and unscientific. Each state would then be allowed to fix its own standard of alcoholic content, subject always to the proviso that that standard could not exceed the maximum fixed by the Congress.

I believe moreover that there should be submitted to the people the question of some change in the provisions of the Eighteenth Amendment. Certainly, no one foresaw when the amendment was ratified the conditions which would exist today of bootlegging, corruption and open violation of the law in all parts of the country. The people themselves should after this eight years of trial be permitted to say whether existing conditions should be rectified. I personally believe in an amendment in [*sic*] the Eighteenth Amendment which would give to each individual state itself only after approval by a referendum popular vote of its people the right wholly within its borders to import, manufacture or cause to be manufactured and sell alcoholic beverages, the sale to be made only by the state itself and not for consumption in any public place. We may well learn from the experience of other nations. Our Canadian neighbors have gone far in this manner to solve this problem by the method of sale made by the state itself and not by private individuals.

There is no question here of the return of the saloon. When I stated that the saloon "is and ought to be a defunct institution in this country," I meant it. I mean it today. I will never advocate nor approve any law which directly or indirectly permits the return of the saloon.

Such a change would preserve for the dry states the benefit of a national law that would continue to make interstate shipment of intoxicating beverages a crime. It would preserve for the dry states Federal enforcement of prohibition within their own borders. It would permit to citizens of other states a carefully limited and controlled method of effectuating the popular will wholly within the borders of those states without the old evil of the saloon.

Such a method would re-establish respect for law and terminate the agitation which has injected discord into the ranks of the great political parties which should be standing for the accomplishment of fundamental programs for the nation. I may fairly say even to those who disagree with me

that the solution I offer is one based upon the historic policy of the Democratic Party, to assure to each state its complete right of local self-government. I believe it is a solution which would today be offered by Jefferson or Jackson, or Cleveland or Wilson, if those great leaders were with us.

I received a full copy of Governor Smith's speech, and at the request of Mr. James, the Paris correspondent of the *New York Times*, I made a statement, which was cabled by Mr. James and printed in the *Times* on August 25, two days after the printing of Governor Smith's speech. This statement was hammered out one night after the closing session of the International Congress on Alcholism. I regretted that I could not have prepared the statement under a more favorable condition when I would probably have written a more comprehensive reply in more concise language. In view of its importance in connection with the campaign it is given in full.

SMITH IS ATTACKED BY BISHOP CANNON. Southern Dry Leader Declares State's Control of Liquor Traffic Has Been a Failure. SAYS IT WILL SPUR CRIME. Statement at Brussels Blames Lawlessness on Governor Because of Mullan-Gage Repeal.

Special Cable to the *New York Times*

BRUSSELS, Aug. 24. Bishop James Cannon, Jr., of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, today declared Governor Smith's speech of acceptance only confirms his fears that the election of the New Yorker as President would be a blow to the prohibition cause. The Bishop made the following statement regarding the address:

"Governor Smith has four times promised the people of New York state that he would, to the best of his ability, preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States, which includes the Eighteenth Amendment. The present lawless conditions in New York, for which he is largely to blame, prove conclusively his positive unwillingness, or amazing, unbelievable inability to keep his solemn oath.

"Judged by this shamefully recreant attitude in the past, Governor Smith's oath, taken at Washington, would be worthless and merely idle words. If he has been unable to enforce the law in his own Tammany-controlled city, who can trust him to enforce the law in the nation at large? Genuine Democrats will give no weight whatever to his pledge to live up to his oath that, to the last degree, he will, to the very limit, execute the platform pledge. They will be unable to forget to the least degree the limitations which have characterized the keeping of his oath as Governor of New York.

"Governor Smith declares, and truly, that the Democratic Party platform is silent as to any change in the law. He does not declare the fact that the Platform Committee, after a protracted discussion, deliberately and positively voted down a proposition to commit the Democratic Party to any change in the law, thus recognizing the decided difference of opinion among Democrats on prohibition.

"Governor Smith's arrogant repudiation of the Democratic platform is not only an affront to the convention and an outrage to the Democratic dry majorities in the Senate and House of Representatives and their various constituencies, whose positive convictions are thus treated in intolerable contempt, but it is a deliberate thrusting of the prohibition question into the very foreground of the present political campaign. It is a brazen challenge to the principles of the Southern Democrats especially, who have always contributed heavily to the Democratic electoral vote.

"Surely this betrayal of Southern democracy for the sake of the Republican votes is unparalleled in political history. It merits and doubtless will receive an unparalleled rebuke.

"Governor Smith's declaration as to the great lawlessness resulting from prohibition is absurd and almost hypocritical in view of his official responsibility for the lawlessness in the cities of New York and Albany. Not only has he done nothing to abate this lawlessness, but, by his advocacy of repeal of the Mullan-Gage law, made it well-nigh impossible to enforce the prohibition law in New York. He now, in the most shameless fashion, uses his own failure as a reason for his attack on the law.

"Governor Smith's proposal to have an increase in the alcoholic content of beverages admitted by the Volstead Act simply increases the difficulties of law enforcement. The greater the alcoholic content permitted, the greater and more successful would be the efforts in the United States of all lawless brewers to flood the whole country with intoxicating beer. Governor Smith's newly conceived banishment of the saloon does not settle the vital question of the distribution of intoxicants in any form, which is the root of the evil.

"His proposal to amend the Eighteenth Amendment to make possible forty-eight various ways of dealing with the liquor traffic would require, of necessity, a resubmission of the amendment to the states. Who believes that Governor Smith believes that thirty-six states can be persuaded to repeal national prohibition by returning to state control?

"The whole country knows that the lawlessness of the liquor interests compelled national prohibition. State control was fairly fully tried out, with the accompaniment of the Webb-Kenyon and Bone-Dry Laws. But whenever, in any state, intoxicating liquors can be legally manufactured and sold after the liquor is manufactured, they will certainly in some way or other, be poured into the territory of the dry states.

"If it requires constant vigilance to repress and control liquor lawlessness when the manufacture and sale are forbidden in the entire country, how much more difficult will it be to control the criminal element of the traffic, which always has been lawless when intoxicants could be legally manufactured in several states? Why did not Governor Smith raise his voice to protect the dry states in the days before national prohibition?

"Nothing could be more shameless and unjust than Governor Smith's declaration concerning the veto of the Volstead Act by President Wilson,

after the speech of former Secretary Daniels at Houston emphasizing the real reasons given by President Wilson for vetoing the Volstead Act.

"Further, a public statement was made by former Secretary Daniels, a high official of the Wilson administration, that he had in his pocket in the committee room a letter written shortly before his (President Wilson's) death stating that the Eighteenth Amendment should not be repealed or the Volstead Act be not modified in any important particulars.

"The Governor's practical nullification of the prohibition law and his utter failure to keep his oath of office as Governor of New York concerning that law brand his present utterances as nothing but a scrap of paper.

"His open proposal to weaken the Volstead Act so as to make enforcement even more difficult, if not impossible, and his demand that national prohibition be substituted by forty-eight varieties of state prohibition call for earnest, persistent and unanimous efforts on the part of all friends of prohibition to defeat the wet-nullification-Tammany candidate from the sidewalks of New York."

From Brussels I went to Prague to the meeting of the World Alliance for the Promotion of Friendship through the Churches. During the progress of that convention I had breakfast with Dr. S. Parkes Cadman and Bishop W. F. McDowell, which continued as a conference during the entire morning, concerning the conditions in the Southern states, especially concerning the importance and the strength of the anti-Smith Democratic movement. They were both profoundly impressed, and became quite optimistic and enthusiastic, and Bishop McDowell, as President of the Board of Temperance, Prohibition, and Public Morals, promised that he would secure at least \$5,000 from that board to help in the distribution of necessary literature. Both of them urged me to return home at the earliest possible date, holding that the issue involved in the United States was far more important than the meetings in Europe which I had come to attend.

I therefore left Prague before I had intended to do so, and went directly to Lausanne to a meeting of the Executive Committee of Life and Work, and later to a meeting of the Executive Committee of Faith and Order. I reached Geneva the day before the meeting of the Assembly of the League of Nations, and by the continued kindness of Mr. Arthur Sweetser, I secured a good ticket for the meeting of the Assembly of the League of Nations, which opening meeting I had attended every year since the first meeting of the Assembly. I left immediately that afternoon for Paris, reaching there on Monday night. On Tuesday I arranged for the exchange of steamer tickets with Thomas Cook, and on Wednesday, September 5, I sailed for home, having cut

my trip short by one week, sailing back on the *Mauretania*, leaving on Wednesday, and arriving the following Monday.

I had promised the Methodist Protestant Conference, which met that year in Lynchburg, Virginia, to speak, if I returned in time, and did speak to an enthusiastic gathering which packed the church auditorium. I returned immediately to Richmond, and on the following day, after clearing up the most important matters by dictation to three stenographers, I went to New York, stopping off at Washington, where I met Mr. T. W. Galliher in the Union Station, who told me that he had received a letter from Bishop McDowell, instructing him to arrange for me to have \$5,000 to aid in carrying on our literature campaign.

On the following day, September 14, I met Mr. C. Bascom Slep at 111 William Street, New York, and went first to the office of Senator Joseph F. Frelinghuysen, where it was agreed that he would contribute \$10,000 to the anti-Smith state-wide campaign at once, and, if necessary, \$10,000 more later on. I then went with Mr. Slep to the office of Mr. E. C. Jameson.¹⁰ Mr. Slep introduced me to Mr. Jameson, and stated that I was chairman of the Executive Committee of the Anti-Smith Democrats, and that I would state to Mr. Jameson the aims of the Anti-Smith Democrats, and try to secure some assistance from him in carrying on the campaign. Mr. Slep then left me with Mr. Jameson.

As this first conference with Mr. Jameson was of vital importance in the successful carrying on of the work of the Anti-Smith campaign, and as it became a matter of very great importance in connection with the investigations of the Senate Committee on Lobbying, and later of the committee of which Senator Gerald P. Nye was the chairman, appointed to investigate any charges which might be made concerning illegal expenditures, or the improper handling of funds contributed for campaign purposes, and later on of even more vital importance in the criminal trial in the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia, I am giving what happened as nearly as I can possibly do so.

I explained very fully in detail the facts in connection with the Anti-Smith Democratic movement. I started with the statement issued by Dr. A. J. Barton and myself after the telegram of Governor Smith to the Houston Convention. I emphasized the visit made by Dr. Barton and myself to Secretary Hoover and his clear-cut declaration that he stood for the vigorous, effective enforcement of the Prohibition Law. I gave the facts concerning the Asheville Conference, the personnel of the body, the number of the states represented, the resolutions adopted,

10. Edwin Cornell Jameson (d. 1943) was a New York City lawyer and insurance executive.

and the declaration of aims and principles. I explained the plan of organization which had been adopted—the organization of a Headquarters Committee to direct the work throughout the Southern states from the central office in Richmond, and the organization of state headquarters committees in every Southern state, to carry on the intensive campaign work in each state.

I told Mr. Jameson that I thought that enough money would be contributed from other sources to meet the expenses of the Statewide Headquarters Committee, but that I would need about \$50,000 in addition to small contributions to properly organize Virginia and to defeat the Smith Democrats in that state. He was greatly interested, and said he would be glad to assist in a movement based upon moral principles as over against purely political party allegiance. He said that he had a number of friends in Virginia, and was interested in our efforts to defeat Governor Smith in that state. He then promised me that he would provide the \$50,000 which I needed.

I then said to him very clearly, explicitly, positively, so that there could be no mistake whatever that I would accept the money only on the condition that I could use it how, when and where I thought proper, without giving any itemized report of how the money had been used, that, unless he could have confidence that I would use the money properly and efficiently, I would not take it. He promptly, and without hesitation, agreed to that condition, and asked me at what times and how I would like the money to be paid. I told him I would want it to be paid about \$10,000 weekly, and that I would probably come to New York for it every week. Mr. Jameson called in his secretary, Mr. Healy, and stated to him the substance of our agreement, and much of my business later on was carried on through Mr. Healy.

I was impressed at our conference that Mr. Jameson was a Christian gentleman of considerable wealth, who was greatly interested in the defeat of the wet Tammany candidate, Alfred Emanuel Smith, and in the success of the positively declared dry candidate, Herbert Hoover, and I have had no reason to change the opinion formed at our first interview. It is needless to say that the confirmation of the contribution promised by Bishop McDowell, the contribution from ex-Senator Frelinghuysen, and the agreement with Mr. Jameson greatly lightened the financial burden which had been resting upon me, and made me absolutely confident that such a campaign could be carried on as would certainly split the "solid South," defeat Governor Alfred Emanuel Smith, and at the same time elect dry Democratic governors, congressmen, and senators throughout the Southern states.

While on that visit to New York I made some investigations concerning the attitude of Governor Smith toward the Negro vote in New York City, especially in Harlem. I found that while the Negroes are historically and politically naturally allied to the Republican party, yet they had been thoroughly organized under the Tammany system, had been given offices in the city government, and were counted upon to cast an almost solid vote for Governor Smith in the coming election. In company with some friends I went through the Negro Harlem section, observing as closely as possible the outward life of the Negroes as seen on the streets and [in] shops and stores and theaters and dance halls, and came away believing that the Negroes in our Southern cities, towns, and country districts were living in far better surroundings than the Negroes in Harlem.

The next day I stopped in Washington and inspected the conditions under which the Negroes worked in some of the Government departments. I found that most of them worked in groups apart from the white employees, and that the attitude of the United States government was far more in accord with the Southern ideas than were the methods of the Tammany politicians. This information concerning the attitude of Tammany, of which organization Governor Alfred Emanuel Smith was a Sachem, toward the Negroes was of great value in combating the propaganda which was issued against Secretary Hoover, that he had compelled white and colored clerks to work side by side in his department. Personally, I did not desire to emphasize the race issue in any way, and as a matter of fact, I do not think that it was a factor of any great importance in the campaign.

From that time, September 15, for the next seven weeks I spoke almost every night, sometimes two or three times daily—Alexandria, Fredericksburg, Newport News, Portsmouth, Charlottesville, Danville, Farmville, Suffolk, South Boston, Martinsville, Bristol, Appalachia, Wytheville, Bluefield, Lexington, Clifton Forge, Leesburg, Cape Charles, Eastville, Accomac Court House, Chincoteague, Winchester, Manassas, Lawrenceville, Blackstone, Roanoke, Buchanan, Wakefield, Harrisonburg, Bowling Green, Warsaw, Bedford, Virginia Conference (Lynchburg), Richmond, and other places throughout the state, speaking the last day before the election at Culpeper in the morning and Staunton at night, driving to Blackstone in time to vote at 9:15 A.M., and on to Richmond to receive the returns.

I spoke outside the state in Lewes, Delaware; Cambridge, Maryland; Baltimore; Washington; Huntington, West Virginia; Kentucky Conference (Lexington); Durham, New Bern, Charlotte, Reidsville, Greens-

boro, North Carolina; Charleston and Columbia, South Carolina; Atlanta; Memphis; Forest City, Little Rock, Fort Smith, Arkansas; Greenville, Dallas, Texas; Hattiesburg, Mississippi; Montgomery, Alabama; Tulsa and Enid, Oklahoma. I aimed to give at least one message in every Southern state in order to dispel any false impressions which might have been created by the propaganda of the Smith campaign. My own speaking was, of course, quite a minor matter compared with the numerous meetings held in all the Southern states and the addresses made by ministers and laymen in their local communities.

Moreover, while in my judgment our speaking campaign was exceedingly effective, the literature campaign was equally, if not more, effective. Literally millions of pages were printed and circulated in every section of the South. Copies of most of the publications were sent to all the religious press, North and South, and to the leading secular newspapers of every section. The Board of Temperance and Social Service of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, spent the \$5,000 furnished through Bishop McDowell in the circulation of hundreds of thousands of copies of my address, "Prohibition Repeal Unthinkable," which was not a campaign document prepared for use in any political campaign, but to emphasize the exceedingly beneficent results which had followed the adoption of the Eighteenth Amendment, and the necessity for the continuation of the prohibition policy.

The campaign in Virginia was opened with a speech by Senator Joseph T. Robinson, the dry Democratic candidate for Vice-President. In that speech Senator Robinson sounded the first note on the distinctly religious issue. He severely criticized, indeed, denounced the Protestant ministry of the South as intolerant and bigoted because of their refusal to support Governor Alfred Emanuel Smith. He utterly ignored the insulting, slanderous attack by John Jacob Raskob upon the Protestant ministry as being already "muzzled" by threats that their salaries would not be paid because of their opposition to Smith.

This address by Senator Robinson so early in the campaign convinced me that the religious issue would be precipitated into the campaign by the Smith Democrats at what they might consider to be the most propitious time. Many Southern Smith leaders realized soon after Smith's nomination that the resentment of the dry Southern Democrats, if not checked or diverted in some way, would bring defeat to the Smith ticket in several Southern states. It was decided, therefore, to appeal to fair-minded men and women who would certainly vote against Smith on prohibition to support him as a protest against intolerance

and bigotry. I was satisfied at that early stage that it would be necessary to meet the religious issue in the open, but I decided to delay such discussion as long as possible.

The two men who had indicated while at Houston the greatest resentment at the telegram sent by Governor Smith to the convention were the Honorable Josephus Daniels of North Carolina, and Senator Carter Glass of Virginia, both of whom expressed themselves freely to Dr. Barton and myself. After the appeal of Dr. Barton and myself to Southern dry leaders to hold the convention at Asheville, Mr. Daniels made a statement in the *News and Observer* that it was not difficult to understand how prohibition leaders like Dr. Barton and myself would find it impossible to support Governor Smith, but Mr. Daniels insisted that "corruption and privilege" was the real issue and not prohibition.

In Virginia Senator Glass turned a double somersault. In May, 1927, Senator Glass wrote an article for the *Review of Reviews*, entitled "Could Smith be Elected?—As a Catholic, Yes! As a 'Wet', No!" . . .

In the *Review of Reviews* of September, 1928, which appeared early in September, Dr. Albert Shaw, the editor, under the title, "Governor Smith and Senator Glass," wrote what I think to be an unprejudiced, logical statement, from which I quote:

It has never been charged against Governor Smith that he uses words to hide his real meanings. His statement to the convention was a strong assertion of the anti-prohibition views, of which he has long been the foremost champion in official life. In this very message to the convention he stated: "It is well known that I believe there should be fundamental changes in the present provisions for national prohibition." In view of that statement it is not inappropriate to quote from the article by Senator Glass in our issue of the month of May, 1927. He then declared: "Should Governor Smith be nominated as an exponent of the view that the Eighteenth Amendment of the Federal Constitution should be repealed or molested, or that the Volstead Act should be superseded by legislation which would textually render the Eighteenth Amendment ineffective, he would in my judgment, be badly beaten in Virginia, and the South, and the country." Senator Glass is certainly as fearless and as outspoken as Governor Smith, and he is perfectly able to defend his own position. He has not changed his views, which he treats as a subject for Congress, rather than for the President. But since prohibition is actually regarded as at stake in the presidential contest, with the "wets" believing that Governor Smith's election would be a deadly blow to the "dry" cause, the position of a statesman like Mr. Glass must be rather difficult. It is sometimes hard to make words and facts pull together.

Any fair-minded, unprejudiced person in view of all the facts of the 1928 campaign, must agree that Dr. Shaw is correct in showing the inconsistency of Senator Glass's position. Not only did Governor Smith state in his telegram to the convention that he believed that there should be "fundamental changes in the present provisions for national prohibition," but he took an unprecedented step in the selection of the chairman of the National Democratic Committee. When the committee met, there was much conjecture by the press and the people generally as to what Democrat would be selected by Governor Smith to lead the Democratic party in the campaign.

The announcement by Governor Smith that he desired the committee to elect as chairman John Jacob Raskob was like a thunderbolt out of a clear sky. Many of the committee had never heard of Raskob, and the query went around the committee room: "Why Raskob?" Who is Raskob?" And then it was announced that he had been a Republican up to that time, a member of the Union League Club, the chairman of the Finance Committee of General Motors, the Vice-President of the DuPont Company, director of half a dozen banks, and if any man could be thought of as a representative of "Privilege" he was such a man. The committee, with considerable amazement, and with reluctance, elected Mr. Raskob, and the announcement of his election amazed and startled the country. That there might be no doubt as to why Governor Smith selected him, Mr. Raskob himself gave the statement to the press that he had accepted the chairmanship because he thought it was a good opportunity to help to "relieve the country of the damnable affliction of prohibition."

After the selection of such a chairman, and after such a statement by such a chairman, how could Senator Glass take the position that prohibition was not the outstanding issue in the campaign?

Concerning Mr. Raskob, the *Christian Century* of July 26, 1928, stated very consisely: "Mr. Raskob is very rich, very wet and very Catholic. Besides that he is not a Democrat."

Perhaps in the political history of the nation the selection of no chairman of a National Committee has carried with it more implications. Mr. Raskob's wealth and his close connection with great corporations was a direct answer to the idea advanced by the Honorable Josephus Daniels and others that the question of "Privilege" would be an outstanding issue in the campaign. Mr. Raskob stood as a living denial by Governor Smith that the Democratic party was waging a fight against the privileged corporate interests of the country.

Mr. Raskob's record as a Catholic is not a passive record. He had been knighted by the Pope to the Order of St. Gregory. He had donated half a million dollars for the propagation of Catholicism. He was an outstanding member of the Knights of Columbus. Whatever other reasons Governor Smith might have had, certainly it is quite evident that he was determined to solidify as far as possible the Roman Catholic vote. Furthermore, it showed his purpose at the very beginning of the campaign to emphasize the religious issue during the campaign to his own advantage.

William Allen White, the Emporia, Kansas, editor, investigated very carefully and thoroughly Governor Smith's legislative record on the liquor question, and summarized it as follows:

Ten times in the New York Legislature he voted against allowing the people to vote on any sort of restriction for the sale of liquor. Four times he voted against stopping gambling and prostitution in connection with the saloons. Three times he voted against bills which would have made it easy to convict the violators of liquor laws in the saloon days. Three times he voted to repeal the law against keeping saloons open on Sunday. Four times he voted to remove zoning restrictions which would keep open saloons from proximity to churches and schools.

To this legislative record must be added the signing of the bill to repeal the Mullan-Gage Prohibition Enforcement Law, which resulted in thousands upon thousands of speak-easies throughout the state of New York. The Southern dry Democratic leaders, including Senator Glass, Governor Byrd, and Dr. Pollard in Virginia, never dared to face up squarely to this consistently, persistently wet record of their candidate, but were obliged to go into the campaign ignoring not only this record, but also the telegram to the Houston convention, and the selection of John Jacob Raskob as chairman, with his emphatic statement that he had accepted the chairmanship because he thought it was a good opportunity "to help to relieve the country of the damnable affliction of prohibition."

While it has always seemed to me difficult for anybody with a logical mind to understand how sincere, dry Southern Democrats could support the wet Tammany Governor Alfred Emanuel Smith, yet I earnestly endeavored throughout the campaign to refrain from any personal attacks upon either individuals or groups who might advocate the election of Governor Smith. But I confess that I had little real hope that any campaign conducted by Senator Glass would not sooner or later degenerate into personal abuse and vilification of myself, and possibly of some others.

In every speech Senator Glass made, as far as I could secure the record, one of the principal parts of his speech was an attack upon me personally, not connected in any way with the great issue of the campaign. These personal attacks did not disturb me. Every one of them I was able to answer effectively. I knew that as the campaign progressed Senator Glass would become more and more violent and that, just as happened in the campaign with ex-Governor Swanson for the senatorship, his methods would certainly increase the anti-Smith majority. . . .¹¹

Next to Senator Glass the most abusive attacks were made by Dr. John Garland Pollard, the former Attorney-General of Virginia,¹² who, as has been already narrated, was the lowest candidate in the Democratic primary of 1917, and who by his persistent refusal to recognize the facts split the dry vote and caused the election of Mr. Westmoreland Davis as governor, giving prohibition an unsympathetic governor of Virginia for four very important years. Dr. Pollard had never co-operated with the Anti-Saloon League of Virginia in any way and had bitterly opposed me personally because I was friendly with Senator Thomas S. Martin, the leader of the Democratic party in Virginia, who, as has already been narrated, assisted me in securing state-wide prohibition for Virginia and the ratification of the Eighteenth Amendment. In an address delivered in Norfolk Dr. Pollard denounced me personally by name as an ecclesiastical politician and as a traitor to the Democratic party and to the best interests of the state. He denounced along with me the other Anti-Smith leadership in Virginia.

Governor Harry F. Byrd was not so violent in his denunciations as were Senator Glass and Dr. Pollard. My relations with him were very cordial for many years; certainly until the death of his father, the Honorable Richard Evelyn Byrd, one of the most brilliant men in Virginia public life. Owing to my close personal friendship to State Senator G. Walter Mapp, I had supported him in the primary race between himself and Governor Byrd; but I always held Governor Byrd in high regard, and I was somewhat surprised, and greatly regretted some of the things which he said concerning me.

It is perhaps in place to say just here that if Senator Glass, Dr. Pollard, and Governor Byrd had confined themselves to the issues of the campaign, if they had recognized the sincerity of the Anti-Smith Dem-

11. At this point there is a considerable gap in the manuscript. There is a note, however, indicating that Cannon planned to "narrate at this point some of the clashes with Senator Glass during the campaign."

12. See pp. 164-166.

ocrats in contending for what they sincerely believed to be a great moral issue, if they had not denounced, and in some instances abused them, there would have been no Anti-Smith Democratic organization continued after 1928. It was the personal element which was unnecessarily injected into the campaign which excited such deep resentment in the leaders of the Anti-Smith Democrats, and in many thousands of the rank and file that made it exceedingly difficult for them to maintain their self-respect and accept these men as leaders of the Democratic party of Virginia.

After the arrangement with Mr. Jameson, the financial problem was not serious; certainly it never became acute. With every letter and piece of literature sent out there went along a card pledging the signers to vote and to work against the election of Alfred Emanuel Smith for the Presidency, and the signer was asked to make a contribution to aid in carrying on the work. I also printed paid advertisements in religious and secular papers calling for contributions. The response was fully as large as I anticipated from such a general appeal. . . .

The publishers regret that the Editor's Introduction was re-paged after the printing of the Index. For references to this Introduction (in lower case roman numerals) it is necessary to subtract two from the numbers given in the Index. Thus ix becomes vii; xxi, xix; etc.

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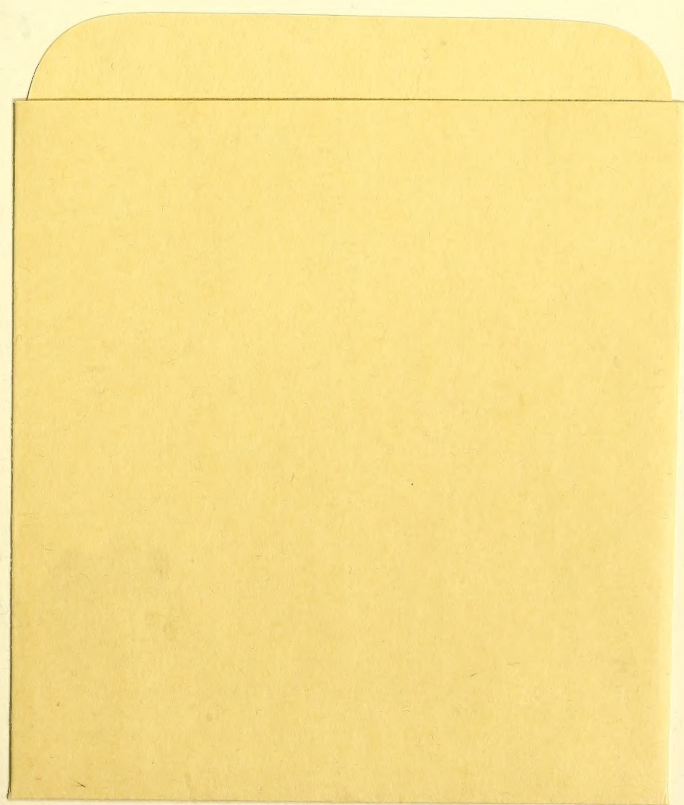
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